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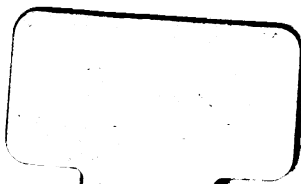
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Third Annual Meeting

OF THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

OF

FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN.

*Held October 7 to 9, 1885.*

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# THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE.

## THIRD ANNUAL MEETING.

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### FIRST DAY—OPENING SESSION.

THE Third Annual Conference of friends of Indian civilization was held at the Lake Mohonk Mountain House, October 7-9, 1885, on the invitation of the Hon. Albert K. Smiley, one of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and the owner of that beautiful resort. The objects of the meeting cannot be told better than in Mr. Smiley's own words. He said :

"The time has arrived for the opening of this Conference, and I would like to make a little explanation, before the appointment of officers, in regard to its origin. For many years, ever since the organization of our Board of Indian Commissioners, it has been their practice to have a Convention in connection with the annual meeting, in Washington, to discuss Indian affairs generally. To that Convention the secretaries and well-known members of religious denominations have been invited, and they have generally been present, as well as members of Congress and others. In these discussions, usually occupying one day, we have always found that the time was short. The pressure of business in Washington was so great that we could not hold people together more than one day, and we have had to adjourn before we were through. So the thought struck me a few years ago that we could give more time to the subject by inviting friends of the cause to this house and having a three-days' Conference. I suggested the idea to some of my friends and they approved of it, and that is the way this Conference originated.

"My aim has been to unite the best minds interested in Indian affairs, so that all should act together and be in harmony, and so that the prominent persons connected with Indian affairs should act as one body and create a public sentiment in favor of the Indians. It gives me great pleasure to welcome you all here. There has been a great advance in public sentiment. I feel exceedingly hopeful in regard to the Indian."

On motion of Mr. Smiley, General Clinton B. Fisk, of New York, President of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was elected President of the Conference. Prayer was then offered by the Rev. Mr. Harding, of Long Meadow, Mass.; after which General Fisk, while doubting the



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wisdom of a third term [he presided at the preceding conferences], returned his thanks, and said:

"There is some progress in Indian affairs,—not great, but we may say there is progress. General Grant in his first message used about this language: The treatment of the original owners of this country has been such from the beginning as to lead to continual murder and robbery and all sorts of affliction. He added that his own knowledge of matters on the frontier, his own experience as a soldier, led him to believe that the rulers of this country had pursued a course, or that national legislation had been such, from the beginning, as to be most harmful to the Indian. He then said: 'I have adopted a new policy which is working well, and from which I hope the best results.' The new policy was the legislation which provided for the appointment of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and such other, in the spring of 1869, as led to a better understanding of Indian affairs. From that time—from the time when a certain delegation, one of the members of which is in this room, visited President Grant, when he said his knowledge as President, and his knowledge as an old soldier should be thrown in the right direction for the Indian—progress has been marked. At midnight on March 3d, 1871, Congress made that remarkable declaration that thenceforth no treaty should be made with an Indian tribe. They reached that decision after having made four hundred treaties, which had been frequently broken, with nearly one hundred tribes. Congress said we will put a stop to this wrong; we will not regard any tribe as a nation. From that time we have been visiting nearly all the larger tribes, and making certain agreements with them that are working for better things. Many of us are beginning to believe that the Indian has made all the progress he can under the conditions which have obtained in the past."

"At the first interview I had with General Grant after coming into this Board of Commissioners, he said: 'The trouble is, we regard the Indians as nations, when they are simply our wards.' General Grant went out on the skirmish line. Said he: 'We must make the Indian believe us; we must treat him as a ward. We should work especially to throw down every barrier in this country, so as to have no foot of land on which any American may not go.' This, of course, meant the doing away with all reservations, and pointed to the ultimate citizenship of the Indian; to his absorption, for which we have been working for more than a hundred years. We owe the Indian a great deal,—land, homes, law, and above all, patience and care. With such help coming to him, and in confiding in those who deal with him, it will not be difficult in the future to settle this problem. It was more than a score of years ago that I met Bishop Whipple pleading for the Sioux. Mr. Stanton said: 'What does Bishop Whipple want? If he wants to

tell us that we have done wrong, we know it. 'The remedy is not at this end of the avenue; it is at the other end.' When you convince people; when you make the right sentiment that shall lead Congressmen to believe they had better give attention to this matter, then I shall believe the time is not far distant when there will be no Indians who are not American citizens. It is astonishing that nearly sixty millions of people cannot manage these few."

Ex Justice Strong, of the United States Supreme Court, was elected Vice-President.

Mr. J. C. Kinney, of Hartford, and Miss M. S. Cook, of Washington, were elected Secretaries.

The President, authorized by vote of the Conference, appointed the following general committees:

*On Business.*—Dr. J. E. Rhoads, President of Bryn Mawr College; Philip C. Garrett, of Philadelphia; Mrs. A. S. Quinton, of Philadelphia, Secretary of the Woman's National Indian Association; Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, of New York; and Professor C. C. Painter, of Washington.

*On Roll of Members.*—Drs. H. Kendall, M. E. Strieby, and Wm. H. Ward.

By request Dr. Rhoads made the following report:

DR. RHOADS: "At the Conference held last winter, in Washington, a committee of five was appointed to call upon President Cleveland and lay before him such information with regard to the best methods of conducting Indian affairs, as the experience of the last fifteen years had suggested to those immediately engaged in the work. President Cleveland kindly appointed a day and hour for us to meet him, and three members of the Committee,—Dr. Kendall, Dr. Strieby, and myself—called upon him in Albany, when he gave us a most attentive and courteous hearing. We directed his attention to a few distinct points: first, the importance of having a Secretary of the Interior who was in earnest sympathy with the cause of Indian progress, and who would devote himself to doing all that could be done in his office for the promotion of their welfare; secondly, that the Secretary of the Interior should so foster the work carried on by philanthropic and religious bodies for the education of the Indians, that the Government might avail itself of their effective help without interfering with the ordinary course of its administration of Indian affairs. We respectfully urged that the appointment of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs was also a very important matter; that he should be a man in the full vigor of life, who would be ready to give himself heartily to his duties. He should be allowed by the Department as much freedom of action and such authority as would be necessary to secure success. In the appointment of Indian Agents it would be better to continue in power men of experience than to put in new men who, though they might be more able, were without

experience. Most of those in the field were doing well, but a few could probably be removed to advantage, and their places filled by better officers. We called his attention to the importance of sustaining the educational work which the Government was now carrying on, of maintaining the reservation schools and extending them so as to embrace all the Indian children. We especially desired that the Indian training schools should be sustained. We referred to the importance of defending the rights of the Indians to their lands, and that as soon as practicable, they should hold their lands in severalty, under a provision enabling them to retain them at least twenty-five years without incumbrance, before their lands became subject to sale; and that the rest of the reservations should be thrown open to public occupation, the lands to be sold to the United States and the proceeds applied to benefit the Indians. We also called his attention to the importance of placing the Indians under the protection and the restraints of law. President Cleveland listened with such apparent interest that we parted from him with the feeling that he intended to do all that in him lay, as President of the United States, to care for the rights of the Indians and advance them in civilization."

DR. STRIEBY: "I want to add one thing. Dr. Rhoads spoke of the value of the services of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and the President asked who they were; we told him who they were, and of their supervision of the purchase of Indian supplies at the office in Worcester street, New York, which interested him much."

THE PRESIDENT: "We should like to hear from Dr. Rhoads as to the Indian becoming a homogeneous part of our country."

DR. RHOADS: "A glance at the map of the United States and territories, prepared by the Department of the Interior to show the position and size of the Indian reservations, at once reveals the fact that almost all the Indians have been driven west of the Mississippi. The exceptions are that a small spot in Florida is occupied by the Seminoles, one in North Carolina by the eastern Cherokees, others in western New York by the Senecas, etc., and a few reserves are found in Wisconsin and Michigan. There are some large groups of Indians, as in the Indian Territory, which has a population of about 75,000; and in the great Sioux reserve, which has almost 26,000; nearly 20,000 live along the Canadian border, and large numbers are found on the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains, as well as in Arizona and New Mexico. But all Indian reserves and communities are surrounded by white settlements, and are not only affected at their margins by the influences of white civilization, but are more or less interpenetrated by it. In short, the Indians are now in a new relation to the white race, no longer to be forced back into unbroken wildernesses, but in ever-increasing contact with our American civil and social forces. The advancing host of native and immigrant people press the reservations on all sides, and the question of the civilization of the In-

dians and of their absorption into the body politic cannot be postponed, but must be met.

#### LANDS.

"The whole territory held by the Indians comprises 137,764,731 acres, which seems an immense domain for so small a population. But it must be borne in mind that to a large extent the white man has possessed himself of the most fertile and well-watered lands, and relegated them to the arid and sterile districts. In fact, of the whole, only 17,886,815 acres are reported to be tillable. In the Indian Territory, for example, a strip along the eastern border from 50 to 80 miles in width has plentiful rains and is fertile. But almost all that portion which lies west of the 100th meridian is so dry that it can be used for grazing only. The same remark applies to a large part of the great Sioux reserve, and with yet greater force to the reserves in New Mexico and Arizona. In attempting, therefore, to make the Indians self-supporting, it must be considered that many of them occupy land on which white men could not make a living by farming, and that grazing must be their chief occupation. Moreover, as it requires from 10 to 30 acres to sustain one ox, and sometimes from 3000 to 16,000 acres to support one family, the reservations will seem less disproportionate to their owners' needs than might at first appear.

#### POPULATION.

"The whole number of Indians in 1884 was 264,369, exclusive of those in Alaska, who probably do not exceed 30,000. Instead of decreasing they are slowly increasing; certain tribes are dying out, but others, like the Sioux, have gained in numbers during the last fifty years. The New York Indians are said to have advanced from 4000 to 5000 within that time. In 1884 the births, as reported by the Indian Bureau, were 4069, and deaths were 3087, showing a gain for the year of about one in 264. A wild tribe, when it is obliged to settle down and live in houses, usually loses many members by death, but after having assumed civilized habits it slowly increases.

"Of the whole number of Indians only a few Apaches in Arizona, perhaps two hundred in all, can be considered as now hostile to the Government, the rest are peaceable and likely to remain so unless provoked to some blind outbreak by injustice or cruelty. The number who speak English so as to be understood is about 70,000, and 146,642 are reported as wearing citizens' dress. The Indians own 29,076 houses, of which 1975 were built in 1884.

#### THE GOVERNMENT AND THE INDIANS.

"There are two groups of Government officers who have to do with the Indians. At Washington Congress legislates for them, and the Presi-

dent, the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and all his clerks carry these laws into effect, and form one group. Another is formed by the Indian Agents, United States officers who reside among the Indians on the reservations.

"The Department of the Interior, with the aid of the Board of Indian Commissioners, purchases all supplies of food, annuity goods, etc., and contracts for their transportation to the railway station nearest to the Indians for whom they are designed. It directs and controls the Agents, issues orders and regulations for the management of the tribes, watches over their legal and property rights, issues a code for 'Courts of Indian offences,' and keeps an elaborate system of accounts for the five millions of dollars it annually expends.

"But the Department at Washington could effect nothing for the good of the Indians without the afore-mentioned Indian Agents, by whom the actual task of civilizing them is accomplished. The Agents are appointed by the President for a term of four years. They are usually supplied with a house, often a poor one, at some point convenient to the tribes under their care. Near it are a commissary building where the stores of food, etc., are kept to be issued to the Indians,—a blacksmith shop, the trader's stores, the houses for employés, the buildings for schools, and perhaps a saw-mill to supply lumber,—so that the whole at one of the larger agencies constitutes a little village. As the Agent is entrusted with property, he has to give a bond with securities for a sum varying from \$10,000 to \$30,000. Take an agency in the Indian Territory with from 3000 to 5000 Indians. The Agent must make out each year a complete estimate of all supplies, implements, etc., required for his people, and send it to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington. When the goods arrive he must receive and account for them, certify to their conformity to the samples by which they were purchased, and distribute them with strict impartiality to each family, taking receipts for all moneys disbursed. He must gain and hold the confidence of his Indians, restrain them when they are irritated or capricious, advise them in all difficulties, make an annual census of them (if he can), plan buildings for all purposes (including those for boarding schools), make contracts for their erection, and see that these are honestly performed.

"When the goods arrive the Indians come in from week to week for their food. Formerly the beef was distributed to the chiefs of bands; now it is apportioned to each family. The animals are weighed alive, turned out to the Indians, are shot by them, the skin kept for sale to the trader, and the other soft parts are wholly consumed. Each year the goods for clothing are distributed in like manner.

"The Agent also is practically chief magistrate. He selects a body of men for a police force, pays them eight dollars a month, drills them, and

uses them for the arrest of transgressors, white or red, and thus keeps good order on his reservations. Moreover, he holds a Court with the aid of certain of his people to try offenders, fining them if convicted or sending them to a United States Court for trial. Then he does all that in him lies to stimulate his Indians to take up land, to fence and plough and cultivate it. But the Indian seems to be as averse to assuming our mode of life as we would be to adopting his, and the task of the Agent is a most difficult one. Until we comprehend this we shall not understand the Indian problem. An Agent induced a wild Cheyenne chief with his band of young men to carry the United States mail, and for months he did it with faithfulness. Again he sent one of his employes with wild Indians and ponies one hundred and fifty miles to the railway station for the Agency supplies. Here they received wagons from the Government, loaded them, harnessed their ponies to them, and hauled the goods safely to the Agency. This is a civilizing process.

"There are traders licensed by the Department who buy from the Indians skins and produce, and sell them what they want. These traders are everywhere spoken against, but take great business risks, and in many instances contribute to the civilization of the Indians.

"On each reservation the Agent must establish a boarding-school, must have the building erected and furnished, and get the parents to bring the children to school. Remember that when the wild Indians first bring their children to be placed at school, it seems to cost them nearly as much as it would cost us to put a child of ours in their care. They come trembling, and with the greatest moral effort, with the utmost stretch of human confidence, give their child into the hands of the Agent to be educated. We should give them honor for this.

"The boarding school takes the child from camp life, isolates him from its savage influences and brings him under the control of Christian teachers. In all these schools instruction in work is considered of equal or greater importance than that in letters. But the children have to be trained in everything and to unlearn their savage ways; but for the most part they are singularly docile. On some reserves there are day-schools away from the agency to catch and train the children, as it were, until they can be placed in the boarding-schools.

"Besides these reservation schools, there are seven training schools away from reservations. General Armstrong, at Hampton, has 100 pupils; Captain Pratt, at Carlisle, has about 500; at Salem, Oregon, is another with 200 children; at Genoa is a school with 150 children; in Kansas, one with 250 pupils; in the Indian Territory, near the Kansas border, is the Chilocco School, with 150 boys and girls; at Albuquerque is a school under the management of the Presbyterian Church. Besides these there are admirable schools among the Sioux conducted by the Congregational and Episcopal churches, and there is

no better work done in the whole field than by some of these schools. In Indiana the 'Friends' have a school with 60 pupils, and another in Iowa. Then there is the Lincoln School at Philadelphia; and at Sitka, Alaska, the Presbyterian Church has good schools. Of the 45,000 Indian children who ought to be in school, 19,593 were enrolled in 1884 as having attended either a boarding or day school, and the process should be extended until all Indian children are brought under training and prepared for our modes of life.

"The 45,000 children include those of the five civilized tribes, and the total sum appropriated for Indian education for the fiscal year, ending June 30th, 1885, was \$1,700,000. That is a great increase from the grant made ten years ago, and Congress deserves commendation for its liberality in this respect.

"In Indian education, instruction in work is regarded as of great importance, and scarcely second to that in letters, while training the morals, manners, and the habits of civilized life is persistent. Boys are taught farming, the care of cattle, and such trades as harness making, blacksmithing, tailoring, tin work, wagon building, and carpentering. Two Indians taught in the Forest Grove School, now take contracts for buildings, supply the materials, and erect them. The girls are drilled in all household matters, and many a lodge or little home now shows the effects of such instruction by its neatness, its regular meals, or by the use of crockery or other household furniture. Not fast enough, yet by a steadily advancing process the ideas of our settled communities are being diffused through a large part of our Indian population, and whatever plans for the future may be adopted, they must be based upon the work already done, and be an expansion of present methods.

"The churches have done much to aid the Government in its difficult task in civilizing the Indians, and the Government should foster the educational work of the churches. In 1884, the latter contributed \$179,085 to Indian education, almost one-third of the sum, \$650,000, expended by the Government for the same purpose. Much has been achieved, but much remains to be done, and to that the people of the United States should address themselves with confidence, wisdom, and hope."

Letters of hearty sympathy and approval, and of regret at unavoidable absence, were received from a large number of prominent persons, including Secretary Lamar, Indian Commissioner Atkins, Miss Cleveland, Bishops Huntington, Hare, and Whipple, Archdeacon Farrar, the Rev. Drs. Phillips Brooks, R. S. Storrs, and T. L. Cuyler, U. S. Senators Hoar, Hawley, Morgan, Vest, Van Wyck, and Chace, Congressmen Hewitt, D. R. James, and O. B. Potter, Judge Shoemaker, Generals Sheridan, Crook, Miles, and Milroy, Captain Pratt, College Presidents

Gilman, Chase, Seelye, Caldwell, Editors Dana, Reid, and Pulitzer, George W. Childs, and others.

Prof. C. C. Painter was asked to speak on the present condition of the Indian question and the difficulties in the way of progress. He said :

"There are a great many things I could say, but the question is, what are the pertinent things with reference to the object for which we have come together? I could give some account of my visit among the Indians; of the wonderful progress I have seen, and also the difficulties and hardships, as among the mission Indians in California; my interview with Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson a few days before her death, and how these people lay upon her heart, and how her interest and prayers were all in this work; and I could tell of the condition of those Indians—a condition that would appeal, not alone to Mrs. Jackson, but to the hardest-hearted person you could find, unless it be a California land-grabber. Their condition is very sad.

"The problem does not lie with the Indian as a physical, intellectual, or moral being. The difficulty is not in the Indian. I could give illustrations of this, where Indians have had half a chance. The illustrations are few, I will admit, but I could show that the difficulties do not lie with them, but in Washington; they began with the policy that treated the Indian as a foreigner with whom we could make treaties, and with whom we need not keep our word. They began when we left the Indian outside our institutions and the protection of our laws; with no opportunity as a man, and no protection as a citizen; with no chance to take root, and no chance to show that he could do anything. Look at our treaties with the Cherokees in the South. A successful example of nullification when the President laid his hand upon nullification there; when the Supreme Court of Georgia decided this was wrong; and when John Marshall said: 'The President has given his decision; let us see him execute it.' We could illustrate with the Delawares, of Ohio, but there is not time. We have torn the Indian up, and given him no chance to take root anywhere. We have formulated this problem in such a way that the Indian Agent is the factor in it. Dr. Rhoads refers to some Agent as doing all he could to get the Indian lands in severalty, but that depends upon the man. When he begins to do that, he will find himself tied hand and foot; he will find difficulties in Washington; he can't do it. That Agent has been selected and put in a position under which, if he succeeds, it will be by a wonderful Providence. The present system allows the selection of an Agent with no reference to the Indian whatever, but to political considerations and political rewards. I am amazed that we have so many good men as we have as Indian Agents. Congress puts an obstacle in the way of success by granting a pittance to a man who has to take his family, leave civilization, and go out among Indians to live. It is a bid either for imbecility or rascality ;



a bid for a man who is not worth anything else, or for one who sees his opportunity to cheat. If the Agent be honest, he is yet tied up hand and foot if he attempts to do all the good he can. He undertakes to do a thing, and he can't do it. He reports his difficulties to Washington; the Indian Commissioner feels that the system ought to be reformed, and he finds that he himself is tied.

"And so the matter comes back to members of Congress, who undertake to reform it by legislation. Well, I would like to have you undertake to secure legislation in regard to the Indian. There is difficulty in procuring *any* legislation, but peculiar ones are found here. So far as the Indian is concerned, legislation, till quite recently, has been controlled in large measure by the greed of the Western land-grabber. But we have a better condition of things now. If something is to be done in the way of legislation, and somebody introduces a bill and it is referred to the Indian Committee, one side of the story is given, but the Indian has not been heard, so that there may be security that the object proposed is really a good one. The bill is introduced, and if it does not conflict with any white man's interest it has some chance to get through; but if there is that antagonism from any source, the friend who has introduced a good bill finds himself tied up by the rules of the House. On special days, when his Committee has the floor, and he has the consent of the Committee of which he is a member to bring forward that measure, it may be taken out of the regular order by, I believe, a two-thirds vote of the House. But, in the regular order, it is buried under five hundred bills. Now, such a bill does not stand much chance on that one day, because there are railroad corporations and moneyed men who will occupy the attention on that day. The legislator is hampered, tied; he can't do it. Where are those bills in which we have been so interested? Why haven't they passed? Simply because there is no time for this one bill for the benefit of the Indian who has no voice, and few friends—nobody to push it against the interests of the white man.

"Then responsibility for Indian matters is so divided that it rests nowhere. It is over in the Treasury Department, and it is not in the Treasury Department. It is in the Indian Bureau, and it is not in the Indian Bureau. It is in the Department of Justice, and it isn't there—it is somewhere else. I will not undertake to say how the Commissioner of Indian Affairs makes his estimates as to money needed for the Indians, and how it goes to the Appropriation Committee. If you take the estimates of the Indian Commissioner, and then take the bill prepared by the House Committee on Appropriations, you will see that the latter take the liberty to think they know more about the Indian than the Indian Commissioner himself, and they cut down his estimates fearfully.

"In every case the estimate is cut down, unless, perchance, a member of the Committee comes from the State to which this appropriation

would go; in that case, it stands. The Committee make the report, and it goes into the House. Somebody there concludes he knows more about it than the Committee, and insists upon cutting it down still further.

They know nothing about the merits of the bill, but they must make a record for economy, no matter if it cuts down into the life of the people, as it did two years ago in Montana, where 482 Indians, out of a population of a little less than 2000, died in nine months. With that warning before the Committee,—that condition of things urged upon them,—the Commissioner makes his estimate the next year, and they cut it down. The Commissioner makes his report to them, unless that appropriation is made before the holiday recess, or at least, by the middle of January, the probabilities are that the Indians will not get the benefit of it till they have had to go through their sufferings again. The Commissioner makes his estimates again and recommends an appropriation of \$50,000 for the Montana Indians. I went to Washington to see if that measure would be taken up by Congress. I went to the Commissioner, and he said he had made his estimate. I went to the chairman of the Committee of the House, and he had never heard of it. I went back to find where it was and was told that Congress had made a law the year before regarding all such estimates; they were to be sent to the Treasury Department, and by them to be referred so and so, and to be printed so and so, and to be sent so and so. Well, it hadn't been sent there. The question was, where was it? In a few weeks Congress would adjourn, and the time was coming when these goods could not go in, so I start through the departments to find out about it. I go through the Indian Bureau; I chase it round and round, and after awhile, find it in charge of a certain clerk who has the estimates for deficiencies till just about the close of Congress, when this will be sent there in a batch. I go to him to see if some action cannot be taken lest these people starve; but he cannot help me, and I go back, and back, and back. Instructions are issued that this be sent over. Mr. Dawes goes around and makes an impression on the Department that it is essential that this be done. He also goes to the Treasury Department for action. It comes from there. Understand that unless the Indian has a friend, it lies there. The clerk has done his duty when he has made a record of it, and when, in the course of time, he has sent it along. I go there and find they have been sent over all in a lump. I follow it up through three or four different rooms and at last find it. Estimates have been made for about \$4,000,000 for the Interior Department. There is nothing to indicate that it is a matter of pressing urgency any more than the deepening of the channel for the Podunk River. You undertake to get this detached and sent out and are informed that it can't be done except by a letter from the Secretary of the Interior. I go to him, and I go to his representative. He says there need be no trouble; just send

the whole back here. I go back on a fool's errand; he says this can't go back except in such and such a way. After more than a day's work I write a letter myself asking that this be sent back, because they wish to take special action, and it is sent back. It goes over; it goes through the Treasury Department. What is it there for? We get it over to the Chairman of the House. He has said that when it reaches him he will introduce it at once. We get it to the Speaker's desk, and to the Committee, and finally to the chairman of the Committee of Appropriations a day or so before Congress adjourns. It has taken nearly two weeks, and then he declines to do anything about it, and Congress adjourns.

"That is a fair representation. I don't care in what department it is, you will find that the man who is working for the Indian is tied up. You must be patient with Mr. Dawes, and with the Secretary of the Interior, for they are trying to do the best they can. If you are working for any legislation in the direction of the Indian you will find, unless you can identify it with the white interest so that that will carry it, that you are tied. I am satisfied that the time has come when we should sweep this whole system away and put the Indian on the basis of a white man, and give him a man's chance in this country under the law.

"Take the Indians in California. If they have any rights they should be vindicated; if they have none, then do not send an Agent there to look after them. These Indians are just as capable of taking care of themselves as white men. Why pay a man a salary to do what he cannot do? I wish I had in my pocket the pitiful appeal of the Indians, saying to the minister in Washington, "all we want is some place on which we can live." And to-day men are pushing Indians off these lands which they have had from time immemorial. Here is our Superintendent of Schools; he is trying to do just what we talked of two years ago. He sees it clearly; he sees what these schools are. He has a good deal of enthusiasm, and a good deal of hope, but I fear when he comes to the point that he will find he is tied in every direction. Take the interest of the school; the Agent has the appointment of the teacher as an inducement to take the position of Agent. Our Government is so poor it can't pay, but the Agent puts his wife or daughter or friend in as teacher, and the school helps out the salary. I think the time has come when we should take the ground that we should regard the Indian as God regards him, and give him his rights and a man's opportunities in this country; when we have done so the Indian problem will take care of itself in a short time."

DR. MAGILL, of Swarthmore College (Pa.): "I wish I had some words of practical value to add to those already spoken, but I must say, that after hearing the last speaker, and giving such attention to the subject as I could—which has not been much—the difficulties loom up, and they do seem, as has been said, almost insuperable. What have we been

doing the last hundred years but driving the Indians to the West, and herding them together in those portions of the country which are in most cases, worthless; on lands where, if they should be taught agriculture, they could not make a living, what have we been doing but separating the Indians from the whites, and making treaties with them? suppose we take the same course with any other class of people in this country, for we are made up from all nations. I have thought that if we should separate the colored race and treat them in the same way, we should have a similar result. I was glad General Grant thought proper to take one step and consider them as wards, but I would go further and say it is time to consider them, not as wards, but as individual citizens. Until we are right on that point, we shall not be on right ground. If there was any way in which these reservations could be broken up and the Indians placed upon them and allowed to go where they choose, it would be better, or if we could have taken the course pursued in Canada, that of absorption, it would have been better. But we have gone on in the wrong way, and now we have got to remove the difficulties that have accumulated in the last century. The problem is a difficult one, and one upon which I have not the power to make any suggestions that would be of any value. But we shall never be on right ground till we give them equal, independent rights, and cease to consider them as a people."

The remaining moments of the morning session were occupied by General Whittlesey, who, by request, spoke on the evils of the present system of annuities, and the issuing of food and clothing.

GENERAL E. WHITTLESEY: "*Mr. Chairman*, I suppose there ought to be, and is, lying back in some corner of my brain some apt line of Homer, or maxim of Seneca, that would be appropriate for an introduction to this subject, but I do not think of any just now, and, therefore, I will fall back upon a book more familiar in these days than Homer or Seneca, and give you the words of St. Paul: 'If any man will not work, neither shall he eat.' We have been, for one hundred years, teaching the Indian to violate that precept. We have been feeding the Indians, to a large extent, in idleness; and we have cultivated in the mind of the Indian the sentiment that work is dishonorable and entirely unnecessary, and that he has a right now to demand of the American Government that he shall be fed without work; that he shall have an abundance to eat as long as he lives, and shall spend his time in riding upon his pony, or sitting idle in his camp. So we have made the Indian, by our treatment, a pauper and a beggar. That they are inveterate beggars, we all know who go there. They are as persistent beggars as the Italians about Naples. They will follow you everywhere, asking for the things they need. When they go into council, the great burden of their talk is what they want the Great Father to give them,—more beef, more clothing, more everything,—and then they want him to give them more land. Now,

having made him what he is, the difficulties of making him something else are very great, as we have heard this morning. And I do not suppose it will be possible to make him anything else than he is. I suppose, we shall have to go on feeding him in idleness as long as he lives, excepting here and there a few whom we may persuade to do better. But those who are growing up—the young Indians—will become beggars by our fault, if they become beggars; by our keeping on cultivating those habits of life that we have been cultivating for one hundred years. But I am sure we can stop doing that. Now, some of us have seen the issue of provisions and clothing to the Indians. It is not a process pleasing to describe. We know how debasing it is. We have seen, also, the issuing of money, paid out *per capita*, and that is more demoralizing, if possible than food or clothing. I have seen Indians come to the Agent's office and beg their money—he is compelled to give it, to the hurt of us and them—and go off into the bushes, a few rods away, and there commence gambling. I have seen them do it again and again, and they do not stop till their money is gone. I believe, nine dollars out of ten, in the last twenty years, have been wasted in that way. The money has gone to corrupt Indians. Yet, we are obliged to issue these annuities, because we have made these unfortunate treaties, in which we have sworn to our hurt and theirs, till we can persuade the Indian to something better.”

MR. SMILEY: “One word in regard to Professor Painter's remarks. While they are true, there are some things that, in a general audience, might be misunderstood. We all know that when a man has only one or two to work for him, there is no red tape; but when you have a large force of workmen, there have to be regulations and rules, and a complicated system of bookkeeping. Now, anybody may think it an easy task to manage the Interior Department in regard to the Indian Bureau, but it is not so. In the first place, no money can go out, except by appropriation from Congress. That is good law, but everybody winces under it. Suppose, we could pay out without orders, what would be the result? I will warrant that every ten cents sent to the Indian would cost a dollar before it reaches him. You have got to go through a great number of departments, and nobody can prevent this; it must be so, because of the large appropriations. You cannot pay an Indian Agent, unless the matter goes through nineteen desks. It is, a good deal of it, necessary, and I sympathize with the red tape, although I wish it were swept away. If the Indian is put on his own footing, he goes to his own Court; his troubles will not be settled at Washington. Furthermore, if he has a vote, the neighbors will look out for him, and help him.”

The session then adjourned until evening. In the afternoon, Mr. Smiley gave his guests a mountain ride to Guyot's Hill.

## FIRST DAY—EVENING SESSION.

The Conference reassembled at 7.30 o'clock, P.M.

On calling to order, President FISK said: "It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you, HON. ERASTUS BROOKS."

MR. BROOKS: "*Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen*, I thank you cordially for your kindly introduction to this audience. But I desire, first of all, personally, and as part of my duty, to express my cordial thanks to our host for the privilege which enables me to participate in your deliberations. I have prepared a paper somewhat historical in its character, and am a little doubtful, perhaps, of the wisdom of recurring to history and the duties of the past in regard to the duties of the present. But, as history repeats itself from year to year, and as the men of one generation are like the men of another, I have thought that it might not be unprofitable to recall some incidents in the history of the Indians. In that spirit and purpose, I have prepared this paper on the history of the Indians for the past 275 years. But I beg you to understand that the length of the period has no reference to the length of my address."

## THE INDIAN IN AMERICAN HISTORY—ADDRESS OF HON.

ERASTUS BROOKS.

It has been said in extenuation of wrongs inflicted upon the Indian, that he was the steward of but one talent, buried this talent, made no interest on his money, and as a natural sequence of his limited possession and persistent burial, it is added: "From him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have."

The white people have unquestionably obeyed this Scripture to the letter; but upon a precedent of morals and administration like this it might be concluded that the world is divided into just two classes—the strong and the weak, the powerful and the helpless, in order that

"They may take who have the power,  
And they may keep who can."

The millions of emancipated slaves, of ignorant whites, and the tens of thousands in asylums, institutions, prisons, and poor-houses, fare better than this, alike in general sympathy and public legislation.

The Pilgrims—all honor to their many virtues, of which the treatment of the Indians and Quakers is not one—unquestionably *extinguished* the title of the Indian lands, as did the Cavaliers in Virginia, the Huguenots north and south. The millions from abroad and the more millions born upon the soil, not only followed their example, but have gone far beyond it.

To the credit of a Massachusetts law, as old as 1633, it was enacted that the Indians might have like land allotments with the English, and if "a

competent number proved capable by what was called *civility*, they shall have parts of land undisposed of for a plantation;" and upon proof of ownership, not put off their own hunting grounds and fishing places. This was the letter of the law, but as a rule it was a law not in force.

If we put ourselves in their times and places, we can see, as we have seen from 1633 to 1885, the need of speedy and more decent legislation. "In all my practice at the bar," said old John Adams, "I never knew a contested title but what was traced up to the Indian title." The right of Indian occupancy to Indian lands was never once disputed by Spanish, English, French or other discoverers. More than one tribe of Indians then, and since, held to the original title, and it was to them a religious principle, that to traffic in land was like dealing in human flesh. God, they said, had given them the land to live on, and no man could sell it.\*

The son of the senior Adams, when discussing the opium trade with China in Congress, after he had been President, seemed to think, as too many do, that dealing with heathen men is more a question of power than a question of right, and some of our professed Christian philosophers have recited two famous resolutions with more reality in practice than humor of statement:

Resolved, first, that the world and the fullness thereof belongs to the saints.

Resolved, secondly, that we are the saints.

With some historical records and facts resting upon Indian life rights, and popular conduct, let me present the following conclusions:

That the entire history of this Government, as colonies, as the confederation of States, and as the union of States, proves that, in dealing with those who are called savages, where the greatest wrongs have been suggested, planned, or committed, the greatest offenders, as a rule, have been what are called civilized white men, communities and peoples of the old and new world. As a rule, also, let me show that kind and fair treatment have been rewarded by reciprocal acts of fidelity, kindness, and friendship. First of all, in proof of this latter statement I recall the visits of Father Hennepin, of the navigator Hudson, of Lewis and Clark among the Oregon Indians, of Carter, Catlin, and others. In all the remarkable hospitalities of the world, none have ever been more generous than the Indian tribes of the west and east, to the missionaries, navigators, and discoverers of the old and new world.

*Second.*—That the five Indian tribes, once known as the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, alike in their language, eloquence, commanding forms, independence of character, natural abilities, prowess in war, and strength in peace, demonstrated the original

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\* The very essence of what is called sovereignty has rested upon seizure, usurpation, and force.

power of the Indian race. What they most needed in civilization and religion, in useful and skilful toil, they never found among either the English or Dutch companies abroad, nor, as a rule, among the immigrants from abroad. As proprietors, those who came—and those who sent them here—were persons who often robbed them of their lands, their liberties, their rights, substituting for these and like possessions, jealousies, remorse, and hatred; while as under Sir Walter Raleigh, Col. John Smith, Lords Delaware and Gates, William Penn, the Eliots, the Brainards, and others, there might have been mutual peace and prosperity.

The tribes once masters of the lands from Canada to the Mississippi were conquered rather by force than in a fair struggle to obtain supreme power.

THE SIX NATIONS are proof of this. They hated the French from the moment Champlain fired upon the Iroquois from the ranks of the Algonquins, who were their deadly foes. The conduct of the French was infamous. Under Sir William Johnson the Indians were as true to the English as they were hostile to the French and the colonists. The reason of this devotion rested upon the important fact that Johnson was neither treacherous nor hostile to the Six Nations. Faithful to old Sir William Johnson they were loyal to his son, Sir Guy Johnson, who taught them after the English fashion of the time, and this teaching was that the colonial rebels would bring them into slavery, and make horses and oxen of their whole tribe.

The pride and hope of the famous Joseph Brandt, whose Indian name was Thayendanege (the iron-hearted Mohawk), was that of a man proud of his ancestry. He loved the land of his fathers. His proud words were: "The Six Nations have no dictator among the nations of the earth." "We are not the wards of England. We are a free commonwealth."

In this spirit he fought the French, resisted the colonists, and allied himself and his tribe to the English because he found them friends. Sent by them to a charity school for two years, he became a convert to the education and to the Christianizing of the Indian race. His home at Canajoharie became an asylum for missionaries in the wilderness. "May we always be able to live as good subjects, fear God and honor the king," was his answer to Dr. Wheelock, his colonial teacher, who tried in vain to win him to the American side. No wonder that the British officers at Lake George, at Niagara, and in all the contests on the Mohawk, declared Brandt to be indispensable to the suppression of the rebellion. In England he was called a true gentleman; but as an Indian chief, proud of his birth and race, he refused to kneel to the king or to kiss his hand.

The peace of 1783 found him alone and forsaken among his enemies.



He had fought with bloody hands and a most determined purpose. The English made no provision for his protection, none for his tribe, none for their lands; but true to his allegiance, to sink or swim with the British, the Crown, in the course of time, gave his followers, the Mohawks and the rest of the Six Nations, six miles of land on each side of the Grand River, in Canada west. And just here, to show what a native American Indian could do on the right side, he erected the first church in Upper Canada, and after three years begging from the Lord Bishop of London, secured a missionary of the cross, who was ordained in Trinity Church in 1801, erected a school house and flour mill, superintended the printing of the Gospel of St. Mark in the Indian tongue, became the civil governor of his people, the teacher of his people at home, the negotiator for peace and good will among the tribes everywhere, and all the time laboring for the honor and independence of the nation, of which he was the master chief and spirit.

Sir William Johnson knew how to win the support and friendship of the red man, and as a consequence the tribe made him their Sachem. He learned their language, wore in part their costume, and gave them teachers, schools, and missionaries. "I have in view," he said, "the welfare of the Indians at large . . . Nothing can contribute to their present and future happiness as habits of virtue and morality . . . effected by instruction, . . . and enforced by example." In the preface to the Mohawk Prayer Book (1787) we find this tribute to Brandt: "This is only one out of many instances of his unremitting attention to the welfare of the Indians, who love and respect him as their particular friend. . . . He deserves great commendation for thus employing his time and talents to promote the honor of God and the spiritual welfare of his people."

Of the lands and the Six Nations on the Grand Rapids, all that is left count about three thousand people, and these with land enough on the Grand Rapids for ten times their present number.

*Third.*—The landing of the Ark and Dove, the two vessels which bore the followers of Leonard Calvert to the colony of Maryland, and the charter of Lord Baltimore, which tolerated and encouraged freedom of conscience and freedom of political and religious faith, making the people independent of the Crown, and on this basis of common sense and common integrity purchasing and paying for land bought from the Indians, secured not only present friendly relations between the nations and the colony, but their promises of perpetual amity. The Indian women taught their strange visitors how to make bread of maize, and their chiefs and huntsmen where to find the best game of the forest.

In the same spirit, more than once, and two hundred and fifty years gone by in the wilderness, and sometimes in the winters of New England,

the Indians gave their corn to save the white people from actual starvation.

*Fourth.*—In a Conference called as this is, to protect the interests and character of the Indian race, it is proper to recall whatever occurred in the past to prove their friendly purposes and conduct. In this spirit we remind our countrymen of the brave, bold, and noble Miantanomah as the friend of the pure, true, and self-denying man, Roger Williams. Banished from house and kindred, the chief of the Narragansets received him as he came solitary and alone upon an errand of mercy to save the lives of his white persecutors. He found the Pequod chiefs in counsel with the Narragansets, urging the latter to join them in the instant destruction of the Puritans who had invaded their homes.

Roger Williams owed shelter, home, country, and life itself not alone to Miantanomah, but to Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags, and to Canonicus, the aged chief of the Narragansets. They freely tendered him the land where he had chosen his place of rest as a home, and with it fellowship and perpetual peace. When the Pequod chiefs in council raised their tomahawks to strike him dead, without fear and without shame Williams claimed the protection due to a stranger, and Miantanomah at once gave and pledged the hospitality of himself and his tribe. For three days this banished Christian man pleaded, and in the end successfully, for the very enemies who had made him an exile. A year later, 1637, the Pequods found the Narragansets their enemies, and in the first real Indian war the whole tribe of Pequods were exterminated.

*Fifth.*—That the continued invasions of the French, the Dutch, and the English upon Indian lands, and rights, and customs, compelled, in self defence, the union of the Indian tribes against their intruders. The almost total extinction of the Pequods at the end of the Pequod War in 1637, caused the Narragansets, and the Indians of the North and East generally, to believe that they read their own doom in the extinction of one of their great tribes. When the colonists combined against the Indians under Philip, Canonicus, the Indian father and ruler, was dead. Massasoit and Miantanomah, though faithful in their friendship, were now too feeble to save their tribes from what was then regarded as a life and death struggle against invasion and destruction. Where, under Lords Delaware and Gates, under Col. John Smith, William Penn, and others, the wise rule of the colonists had secured the good will of the Indians, that good will was now lost, and it is a part of our mission to revive and restore what was then lost, and, up to the present time, not yet found. The Indian, following the precedents I have cited, simply has no faith, judging from the past, in our covenants, compacts, treaties, or promises.

The chief sources of wrong among the pale faces were the acts of the white people. The stealing of Pocahontas, daughter of Powhatan, and

the demand of a large ransom for her release, was the beginning of child-stealing in America, while the conversion and marriage of this Indian girl to the missionary, Rolfe, is one of the grandest revelations of our early American history. All this came eight or nine years before the landing of the Pilgrims.

It 1619 it was enacted, in the first political assembly of Virginia, that "the most towardly boys in wit and graces of nature should be brought up in the first elements of literature, and sent from college to work for the conversion of the natives to the Christian religion." There were penalties for gaming, idleness, drunkenness, and even any excess in apparel in church was directly taxed.

*Sixth.*—The bloodiest of all the Indian wars—the war of King Philip—presents in contrast these two pictures: On one side the white colonists, in possession of the old Indian hunting-grounds, their forests, their pastures and fishing-grounds. All these, and the old cabins and old homes were now held and owned by those who had driven them away, sometimes by the purchase of their lands and sometimes by force and fraud.

Instead of the vast domain held years before, the allied tribes were now crowded into narrow necks and tongues of land. Almost literally, even then, they were driven toward the sea, and when upon its borders were told they had consented and contracted to forsake the broad lands of their forefathers. Even more than this, since in 1703 the government of Massachusetts paid £12 for every Indian scalp, in 1722, £100, and in 1774 the Colonial Legislature passed a law giving a reward for Indian scalps. The French and English were the first to begin this kind of warfare.

The white men fought and conquered, and killed, in the name of God and the church, one thousand Indians in a single battle, and the Indians in turn, scalped or killed white men, women, and often children within their reach, and burned almost every dwelling to which they could apply the torch.

The Narragansets finally met the fate of the Pequods. Philip preferred death to submission, and as his wife and son were borne away as prisoners, his words were: "My heart breaks; I am ready to die." It was Captain Church who struck off the head of the conquered chief, literally burying his body as so much carrion; and Philip's son was sold as a slave and sent to the Island of Bermuda.

The Narragansets, now crowded from their homes, simply preferred death to conquest, and these are the two chief pictures of King Philip's War. Let the Judge of all the earth say in all these contests who were right and who were wrong. If in our time it is destiny to see the Indians gradually disappear from the face of the earth, it is at least manly

and merciful for the Government and people to give them a decent and comfortable life while they live, and in the end a Christian burial.

*Seventh.*—That William Penn's first and second treaty with the Indians proves to governments and peoples the possibility and policy of peace, honor, and prosperity between the two races. "We meet," said the good Quaker king, under a large elm, which was blown down in 1810, on the banks of the Delaware, November, 1682, to the delegation of Indians assembled there to receive him, "We meet on the broad pathway of good faith and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love." And the chiefs of the tribes as they held their wampum-belt, called him Miquon, or elder brother, and answered: "We will live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the moon and sun shall endure or the river flow with water." And this treaty of peace, made by one who spoke only in the name of the Prince of Peace, and extending over all the land between the Delaware and the Potomac, was never broken, and not one drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian. The heart of the Indian was as warm and his head as clear as the heart or head of any white man in the colonies which gave birth and life to the government. It is enough to say that the peaceful treaty of Penn on the Delaware, followed the bloody extermination of the Pequods and Narragansets in New England.

In the next century of the nation, 1796, history repeated itself by making war upon "the friendly Delawares," who had been, from the date of the treaty with Penn, as faithful to the white man as the white man, when he desired his lands, became false to him. "The money you offer us," they said, "give to the poor whites who have encroached upon our lands; money is to us of no value, and, to most of us, unknown. No consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands upon which we get sustenance for our women and children."

*Eighth.*—Then in sad contrast, came the Virginia massacre of 1622, four years after the death of Powhatan, as after the death of the father of the Narragansets in the person of Canonicus, came the massacre in New England. The younger brother of the former, like the son of the latter, could not pardon the constant encroachments of the strangers from the old world. There was no mercy at Jamestown on the Potomac, nor on the James River, as there was none in Massachusetts Bay and the Province of Rhode Island in the wars of Philip and the Pequods. In both extremes the blood of the slain was first the seed of banishment and then almost of extermination.

It needs not the memory of the charming young daughter of Powhatan, springing between the tomahawk raised to strike John Smith dead, her head almost resting upon the breast of the white man whose life she had saved; nor the gift of baskets of corn which followed to

feed him and his countrymen, to prove the courage, the generosity, and the kindness of men and women of Indian blood.

In wide contrast we may recite the conduct of George III. in England, ordering the chiefs of his army to arm savage men to war upon Americans, and the bloody work inspired by the Johnsons in New York, on the Mohawk and elsewhere, to decoy and kill white men and families born upon the same soil, where the Johnsons had made their homes as citizens of the new world.

*Ninth.*—The destruction of Wyoming Valley in 1777, was after the manner of the bloody work of the British Tories, led by Col. John Butler, with his Tory Rangers, Royal Greens, and 700 Indians of the tribes known as the Six Nations. British gifts, in gold and valuables, promises without number, performances in almost boundless hospitality, suggested and encouraged these fearful tragedies. The cool-headed Sir William Johnson led first to a deliberately and stealthily advised invasion, and then came the remorseless murders of helpless women and children. No darker tragedies occurred during or before the War of the Revolution. It was the policy and practice of the British King and Ministry to terrify the Colonies, and this policy was persisted in to the end of the war. Not even the massacre at Cawnpore was as terrible as the slaughter at Wyoming. The Indians in time were terribly punished. Forty of their villages were burned, and the British leaders who led the way to death were soon defeated in battle and disgraced throughout the civilized world. Men, no more than children, can play with fire.

*Tenth.*—The massacre of Miss McCrea at Fort Edward by two Indian scouts—one party quarreling with the other, though both were sent by the British officer and lover upon the same mission, which was to give safe convoy to the betrothed maid, taught the enemy that Indian allies might be as dangerous to friends as to foes. The Chippewas, Ottawas, Delawares, Senecas, Shawnees, Wyandotts, all now and then participated in this kind of double warfare. Burgoyne at the North, and Lord Howe at the South, were only too willing to encourage and to prosecute just this kind of savage strife.

The teaching of bloody instructions, in Indian as in civilized life, experience too soon taught, only returns to plague the inventors. In the second war for independence, the crimes committed on the Mohawk and Wyoming were repeated. In the contest between the British Commander, Colonel Proctor, and the American General, Winchester, the latter was taken prisoner. Terrified by Proctor's threat that his Indian allies would again be permitted to repeat their old-time massacres upon the frontier people, and having the assurance that if his little army would yield the frontier people should be protected, the surrender was made. As the result of this still living lie five hundred Americans were struck down by the tomahawk. Most of them came from the State

known everywhere as "the dark and bloody ground of Kentucky." Then, and finally, came the battle of October, 1813, known as the battle of the Thames. The Americans were led by General Harrison, later on President of the United States, and one-half of the British army were Indians. The dreaded Indian chief, Tecumseh, was then a full general in the British forces. He was in their ranks, and in the battle of the Thames in the very centre of the army, and there in full command. The time had now come for Kentuckians to be avenged for the slaughter of five hundred of her sons, most of them young men and struck down under the order of Colonel Proctor. You know the story; it was Richard M. Johnson who pushed his men upon the very centre of the forces where Tecumseh led the way. It was not long before the chief fell dead at the feet of the Kentuckian, and thus the lives so treacherously taken were more than avenged. For two and a half centuries, from time to time, massacre, vengeance, and injustice have often cursed the two races of the American people.

The possible industry of the Indian race, under proper direction, has been a thousand times proved in the past and present century. Upon the evidence of Hudson, in 1609, along the river which bears his name, of Gen. Wayne, in 1794, along the Miami, the Lake, and the Genesee, where miles of land were found in cultivation, the crops destroyed by fire were twice replanted the same year, in 1795. The widespread crops of the Delawares, after they had been once again cut down and the Indians driven from their homes, and by whom the beaver, buffalo and other game were caught upon the Rocky Mountains and elsewhere and sold to the white men, and the evidences in almost every Indian report, special and official, for two hundred and fifty years, prove these two facts: First, then, as with the Shawnees, Delawares, and since with other tribes, that they were robbed by civilized men and made drunk by them, and ruined in mind, body, and estate by the whiskey forced upon them by so-called civilized men. The profits of the wages they earned upon their lands, the money paid to them for game they caught in their forests, the payments they received for lands taken from them by the Government; in a word, the general fruits of their labor have been dispersed not so much from the hand of knowledge, thrift, and industry as from the fruits of the old time and new time plunder, deception, and violence of their white neighbors.

The first European interview with the American Indians, of which we have any record, was upon the banks of the Hudson. The name of the river was in honor of the discoverer, who starting from the Old World eleven years and two months before the embarkation of the Pilgrims, entered Sandy Hook just where the Mayflower later on was directed to sail. The "Half Moon," a little yacht of eighty tons, passed Newfoundland, Cape Cod, Jamestown, and the Highlands just two hundred and

eighty-four years ago, and in the month of September, from the hill tops, and almost in sight of the Hudson, the strange comers were welcomed as "visitors from the Great Spirit." "Behold," said they, one to another, "the gods have come to visit us." The Indians of the river met them in throngs, received them as guests, gave them of their maize and beans and fish and game; and where the city of Hudson now is, they tendered them more than a royal welcome. The harvest was over, and at least three ship loads of the corn and beans were gathered in, piled up in pyramids, and for protection covered in a building made of oak bark. The feast was as generous as mind and heart could desire, and when the commander of the "Half Moon" took leave of his hosts and left his anchorage opposite the Kaatskills on the bosom of the Hudson, these so-called savages broke their arrows into pieces as a pledge and symbol of perpetual peace.

This, as far as is recorded, was the first visit in state of the white men to the red men of the forest, and it was a visit almost within gun-shot of the spot where I speak. Of what followed in part I have spoken.

The past is beyond recall. The present under Providence is within human control, and ought to be,—may I not say will be,—wisely directed.

Congress has expended between five and six hundred millions of dollars nominally for the Indians and wasted thousands of lives. Where ten white men in Indian wars have been killed, to avenge these ten lives twenty for one have been taken. Arms and money have been almost the only two weapons of conciliation hitherto used by the Government and its responsible representatives.

With proper training for citizenship from the beginning, one-half of this money and four-fifths of the lives sacrificed might have been saved. We have made paupers where we might have made citizens. The Indian has no place in the Federal Constitution, none of federal force in the constitutions of the States, and only a place of degradation in the general laws and legislation of the country. The truest native American of all has a place not in the rear only, but under the feet, or beyond the reach of the meanest and worst African, European or Asiatic, the Chinese in part excepted. For him there is no appeal to the law of the land—nor of force or legal form even in the law which belongs to mercy and humanity. The criminal in and out of prison and the pauper in the poor-house remains an American citizen, and thousands of these even with no birthright are made free by the law of the land. The American people need but to see and feel this injustice of man to man to change it at once, and forever, he is a freeman.

#### INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.

Following Mr. Brooks, the remainder of the evening was occupied by the Rev. H. O. Ladd, President of the University of New Mexico at

Santa Fé, and by R. W. D. Bryan, Principal of Albuquerque Indian School, New Mexico. The former spoke especially of the Pueblo Indians around Santa Fé, and the latter of the Pueblos and Navajos, giving many interesting facts to demonstrate their present advancement and their capability for development.

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## SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION.

At the opening of the morning session Dr. Rhoads, for the Business Committee, submitted a Statement of Principles as a basis for discussion. [As finally modified and adopted by the Conference the Statement will be found in full in the report of Friday morning's session.]

The discussion of the morning was devoted (1) To the question of Citizenship, whether it should be immediate or gradual; (2) to the meaning of the word "absorption" or "intermingling;" and (3) to the question of treaty-keeping where the treaties are of detriment to the best interests of the Indians.

On submitting the Statement, Dr. Rhoads said:

DR. RHOADS: "The Business Committee, in presenting some propositions for the consideration of this Conference, wish to emphasize their conviction of the great importance of unanimity on the part of the Conference and of the friends of the Indian, both as to the principles which should guide their action, and as to methods, so far as possible. In the first place, there are two classes of agencies acting for the benefit of the Indian. The first, and great one, is the Government of the United States; and it is of serious moment that this Conference, as representing the friends of the Indian, shall do all in its power to strengthen the hands of the President, the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and other officers engaged in Indian management. They must have perplexities and difficulties greater than we can understand, and they need to feel that we stand in no attitude of criticism, but in one of earnest helpfulness, in which we bid them God speed. Moreover, we must bear with their limitations, for the wisest must have these. We must pass by what may sometimes seem to us unwise, and give them our hearty support; and only when we think they are making some positive mistake, as to principle or method, should we express our views to the contrary. In presenting these propositions, it is with confidence that the Conference will discuss them with entire freedom. This report is not what is to go before the public, but is to be discussed here, then sent to the Committee, and finally, go out to the country as the voice of the Conference."

GENERAL ARMSTRONG spoke adversely to the immediate granting of citizenship, except to those tribes which are fitted for it. He had no



prejudices against the mingling of the races. The process is going on all the time, and will ultimately result in absorption. The total number of Indians, so-called, is increasing, while the number of pure-bloods is diminishing. He was earnestly in favor of educating the Indian, placing him upon land of his own, giving him all he can possibly use, and then selling the rest to Government and funding the proceeds to be used for his permanent benefit and advancement. As to the changing of treaties, the proposition does not imply any breach of faith. It contemplates changes by negotiation, by securing the red man's consent. It is in accord with the spirit of the Coke bill and the Dawes bill, which bills also favor immediate action in allotting lands in severalty. He was utterly opposed to any arrangement which would allow the Indians to huddle together, if they want to, like the Onondagas of New York, holding their lands forever to the exclusion of civilizing influences. That was the way to fasten barbarism upon them in perpetuity. The resolutions contemplated a possible contingency which it was hoped would never arise, namely, failure to secure Indian consent to needed treaty changes.

"The contingency which is possible is embodied in this resolution: 'Every reasonable effort to get the consent of the Indian, but if the consent of a tribe cannot be obtained, then, its execution without their consent.' It means that if the Indians refuse all overtures in meeting the inevitable growth of our country and the advance of civilization, then going to their reservations and taking such lands as we find unoccupied, giving them a full value therefor. It means that, at the rate civilization is advancing, with its ragged, rough edge, where it finds resources which nobody is developing, then it develops them. Where it finds industrious people, it incorporates them. If you think there is any harshness in this, remember that it is done with a feeling that we must save them from themselves. If it were not for this imminent, terrible fact, that things cannot stay as they are, it would not be so. It is the spirit of the country—of its inevitable growth.

"Now comes the question, if the Indians choose, in their ignorance, not to accept our terms, shall they be ground up? Shall they become vagabonds on the face of the earth?

"The seventh resolution is: 'If there are wild tribes absolutely incapable of being brought into harmony with civilization, then, placing them under such guard as will prevent Indian outbreaks.' That simply means, that if the Indians break loose from civil restraint, and all the ordinary care, such as Indian police, take the war-path and fight—then give them over to the National police. There are two kinds of police for the Indians—the Indian police, and the National arm. Out of the whole 262,000 Indians, there are about 3000 who need the National police. Take the Navajos; possibly there are nineteen out of twenty who are to-day controlled by Indian police. Something ought to be said about

this Indian police; they are a great success. We don't want the military in their place. At Standing Rock, at Rosebud, and at Pine Ridge, the Indians are governing themselves. They are their own officers, and there is nothing like it; it builds up their manhood. When they break out, then we want the National police. We have no better men than Generals Crook and Miles—no better educated, Christian men for police work with the Indians when the regular army is called upon. I challenge any one to do better civilizing work.

"Eighth resolution: Maintenance of Indian Agencies, or some equivalent representatives of the United States Government, to look after the Indians' interest, etc. If the Indians are left without any protection they are exposed to various evils. Rum is their greatest enemy. In any case, if put on lands of their own, they would need the care of good men. I have visited nearly every important agency this side of the Rocky Mountains, and cannot but feel that they need good men to look after them.

"Ninth resolution: Lands in severalty. In regard to that resolution, I can only express once more my heartiest endorsement of it, as being the best way for working out the whole problem. This approves the Coke bill; if, however, the patents in the Coke bill shall give the Indians the permanent right to remain in their old possessions, I should have my doubts on this point.

"The tenth: Placing Indian children in industrial schools. That needs no discussion. It is pushing the present system; appropriations that would supply every government school with a complete outfit for industrial training, which will require much more than is being done now. The government has provided twenty-five assistant farmers; there should be two or three times that number. If good farmers were provided they would teach this work at the agencies; they would teach the tribes how to irrigate their lands, and take care of the water, particularly in a country where they are liable to the loss of everything by the tapping of the water. Perhaps one farmer to every one hundred families would answer. About half the men now engaged as farmers are not fit for the work; they are not farmers; they should be competent men."

PROF. PAINTER: "I wish Dr. Abbott, or somebody else would lead off in a discussion of the main issue. It is simply a question of whether we shall begin the work of civilizing the Indian and end this problem, or whether we shall perpetuate the present state of things. I think there is no question but that the reservation system,—the system of isolation and non-absorption, has held the Indian aloof from our civilization and denied him the opportunities of a citizen and a man. This process continued indefinitely will continue the problem. The difficulties of this reservation system are immense; it is an incubus upon every effort for the advancement of the Indian. The simple propo-

sition of the Committee I think is this: Are we still to continue the present state of things, or has the time come to consider the uprooting of this whole evil and the system which perpetuates it? I maintain that the problem with which we are to deal has grown out of our wrong policy. In regard to the immediateness of citizenship: I have always believed that certain qualifications were necessary for the discharge of the duties of citizenship, but inasmuch as we have required no such qualifications on the part of many whom we have taken into our body politic, and to whom we have given the opportunities of citizenship by the million, I have no particular objection to extend the ballot to such Indians as you can chase down, lasso and bring to the polls. I do not think that 50,000 Indians scattered over the country, armed with the ballot would create any great damage to our institutions, and I think it would be some protection to the Indian in his own neighborhood. I believe if a man is in the water that we should take him out, and do it immediately.

"The point in regard to which we are likely to differ will be as to whether this shall be done where a treaty stands in the way, and the Indian will not consent to a modification of that treaty. If forced to face this, we should consider under what circumstances many of these treaties were made, and the purpose for which they were made, and the manner in which they were made. I don't know in regard to all of them, but I do know how we attempted to secure a modification of a treaty recently with the Sioux, and how that modification would undoubtedly have been ratified by Congress had it not been defeated by the Indian Rights Association. The question is whether a treaty which has been negotiated in such a way as to be hurtful to the Indian shall be regarded as sacred and remain a bar to his progress. We sent out a Commission a short time ago to secure a modification of a treaty. I went to those Indians to see how it had been done, for it was claimed that they had given their consent. I asked them if they did so and so, and if they consented? They said no, they were not willing to do so. 'Did they make any other proposition?' 'Yes.' 'Did you accept?' 'No.' 'Did you sign this agreement?' 'Yes.' 'What was promised you?' 'It was not what they promised us that made us sign it, but what they threatened to do to us. They threatened to cut off our annuities under the old treaties and to remove us to the Indian Territory. They told us this would be done, and we, fearing we should have no more homes, no more land, and no more annuities, signed it.' They had been kept about the agency for two weeks in terribly cold weather, and their signatures, obtained under threats, would have been regarded as evidence of a treaty by which millions of acres would have been taken

from them. We sent out to the Bitter Root Valley to enforce a treaty with Charlos, which he said he never signed. Mr. Vest said: 'You have signed a treaty, and you must keep it and leave this valley.' This, Charlos denied, and would not remove. The treaty had been published with his name attached, but when the original treaty was unearthed from the Archives at Washington, we found Charlos's name was not on it. Take the case of Joseph's band of Nez Perces Indians as another illustration of my point. The Nez Perces were living in the beautiful Walla Walla Valley, which had always been their home. We wanted it. After much crowding we were able to negotiate a treaty for its surrender. We made a treaty which gave them a reservation in Idaho, and to the father of Joseph and his band, the Wallula Valley in Washington Territory. Soon the pressure was great that he should surrender this also and join his people at Lapwai. He refused, and after his death, Joseph refused also. We then went to the Indians at Lapwai and made an agreement with them that Joseph should lease his lands. The enforcement of this arrangement made with a third party, who had no right in the premises, was the cause of the Nez Perces war. In violation of the terms on which we accepted his surrender, we sent him to the Indian Territory, where for ten years or more we have supported at an annual expense of \$20,000 a people who only asked to be allowed to support themselves on their own lands. Congress yielded to the pressure of public opinion, and consented this spring to take back the feeble remnant which has survived, and now they have reached the neighborhood of their old home where no lands have, as yet, been assigned them, and too late to raise anything for their own support, and are informed by the department that as they have been taken back at their own request, the Government has no further responsibility regarding them. They have been generously furnished one-eighth rations for the current year.

"I could illustrate by many other cases the *sacred* character of our so-called treaties with Indians; many so-called treaties were made in this way. When we have wanted anything for the white man which the treaty secured to the Indian, we have said: 'the Indian is our ward, and we must do what we think is best for him.' We have enacted laws for his control which we never would have done for a foreign people with whom we made treaties; but our treaties have not stood in the way when we have found it for the advantage of the white man to disregard its obligations; and when it suits our convenience to do so, we say it is a solemn treaty which we must not break. If we had made a treaty with the Indian that he might have unlimited whiskey in exchange for land, and the Indian refused to modify the treaty, most of us would say that we must not do him a great wrong even if we had bound ourselves by such a treaty to do it. I wish to call attention again to the fact that the Business Committee has not offered resolutions to be voted upon.

It has simply offered propositions to be discussed, hoping to get the range of your guns, and that the subject matter of discussion will be referred to this, or some other Committee, to be offered subsequently in the form of resolutions for adoption."

JUDGE STRONG: "I take great interest in what this Conference is intending to do. I feel the necessity of much that is proposed, and it has my hearty assent. I am desirous to promote the Christianization and civilization of all the Indians in this country, and I am one of those who think it desirable that the Indians should be dispersed or diffused throughout our population; that they should not be preserved on reservations, if it is possible to avoid it; that they should not be encouraged to live in bodies; that they should not maintain their own language and habits, but be brought into contact with the better portion of our communities scattered throughout the land, where they might be brought under good influences, and ultimately be Americanized. I would not desire to see a great body of Irishmen herded together, but scattered throughout the country; and it is the same with the Indian. We know how we suffered in Pennsylvania by the Germans living together, speaking their own language and reading their own books for seventy-five years, being a distinct people in the centre of Pennsylvania. They suffered, and the State also. But we have all discovered that, when an Irishman comes and settles here, and another there, they soon become good Americans. If the Indians could be scattered, with a farm here and a farm there, it would be the speediest mode of civilizing them and making them useful citizens, but this thing must be done honestly. I do not believe in doing evil that good may come. This thing must be done consistently with the solemn obligations of the Government. We began by making treaties with these Indian tribes; we treated them as independent tribes. It was a little absurd; it was within our borders, a little *imperium in imperio*. But we did not recognize them as independent. We said to them: 'You may occupy these lands, but you can't sell them to anybody but the United States. We have a right to take these lands when you abandon them. We give them to you as a tribe.' Thus have we made scores of treaties with the Indians; they were solemn obligations. We said solemnly we would keep those treaties. Now it was said by the last speaker that in many of these treaties we cheated the Indians. We did, undoubtedly, get much more from them than they from us, but the treaties gave something to them. Now, are we to set aside those treaties because we cheated? The Indians have certain securities to the possession of their lands. Now, admitting that we have treated them unfairly, is it our part to say, 'We treated you unfairly; therefore, we will take away what we gave you?' No; Mr. Chairman, we have done many things, of which we ought to repent, but let us not violate the treaties we have made. Why, sir, a treaty is the

most solemn obligation into which a government can enter,—a *casus belli*. War cannot occur between the United States and these tribes, for they are too feeble. Can we stand in the face of a Christian community, and say we will disregard these treaties with these feeble, dying tribes? No, sir; the friends of the Indian cannot afford to have it go out to the country that this Conference disregards these treaties. Ah! but one of these resolutions says, if you cannot get the consent of the Indian to the modification of these treaties, then you must annul them, but give an equivalent. Can you treat a neighbor in this way? I will not perform what I have promised, but I will give an equivalent. Who is to measure the equivalent? The United States is to measure what the equivalent shall be, when they take away these lands of the Indians and devote them to some other purpose than that of the treaty. No, sir; I will never consent to any such thing as to say that they shall be altered by force. But I do believe, it is possible to obtain from the Indians a modification, or annulment of these treaties. In many cases, the Indians have made some advances towards civilization; they want their lands in severalty, all being the several owners of lands. Now, let the Government go to those Indians, and say: ‘We will give you lands in severalty, if you will give up that treaty, and, if necessary, we will give you an outfit for engaging in agriculture.’ How many Indian families are there? About 50,000. Suppose, we give 160 acres to a family,—and I must say I am opposed to giving to the husband a certain quantity, and to the wife a certain quantity, and to the child another. I want the Indians brought together in families. There can never be any civilization without families. I would have the head of the family have the land, and have it descend to his wife and children. I believe it possible for the Indian tribes to obtain a revocation, or a modification of those treaties, so that they shall not stand in the way of distributing their lands in severalty. I believe, many Indian tribes are in a condition to receive lands in severalty, and that it would stimulate their ambition, and lead to habits of acquisitiveness, which is important to them. If they could be kept away from the whiskey shops, they would begin to accumulate property, and to that extent I am in favor of these resolutions. I am not in favor of admitting to citizenship any persons—certainly, no Indians—to whom lands have not been allotted in severalty, otherwise it would be worthless to the Indian, and injurious to the white people of the country. I cannot, therefore, vote for the first resolution. The immediate admission of the Indians to all the rights of citizenship, including suffrage, I cannot agree to that. I am in favor of their being admitted to citizenship as rapidly as there is any degree of fitness for it. I believe, all those Indians, who have lands in severalty, ought to be admitted to citizenship; but whether to admit them to the suffrage, is another question. I am greatly in favor of education. Suffrage is not

an indispensable requisite to citizenship. I agree that all the lands of the reservations, so far as the treaties will allow, should be sold. I do not know about the appraised value. Who is to appraise it? The United States? I am inclined to think that it would be no more than fair to the Indian to appraise it at the value at which the United States sold its own domains,—\$1.25 an acre. Then the proceeds should be set apart for the benefit of the Indians. I do not know enough about Indian Agencies to give an opinion, but I am in favor of the most rapid education of the Indian possible. They should have industrial education, and no place is better for that than the Carlisle and Hampton Schools, both of which I have some knowledge of. If we could take these 50,000 Indian children, and put them in schools at an expense of some millions of dollars to the United States, teaching them the trades and employments of civilized life, and then send them back to their homes, the Indian problem would be solved. In ten years, the parents would have passed away,—the greater part of them,—and a new race would come up. I long to see that, sir. I want to see this Government spend not only all it has agreed to, but millions more, so that these wards of the nation may have a fair opportunity to become useful American citizens. We cannot afford to take a dishonest course."

On motion of General Whittlesey, the preamble and resolutions were recommitted, and Justice Strong, Dr. William H. Ward, Hon. Erastus Brooks and Miss Alice C. Fletcher were added to the Business Committee.

Recess till evening.

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## SECOND DAY—EVENING SESSION.

Senator Henry M. Dawes, of Massachusetts, was introduced at the evening session and spoke as follows:

### SENATOR DAWES' ADDRESS.

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:* I did not know that I could better acknowledge on behalf of those on whom legislation for the Indian has devolved, their indebtedness to this Association and to the kindred Associations throughout the land that have stimulated, if not inaugurated, the policy by which that legislation is controlled at the present time, than by making the endeavor—for I know I shall fail to carry it out completely—to present to you what has already been accomplished by the new policy with reference to the Indian. And I shall equally fail if I undertake to tell you what is necessary to be done hereafter. But so far as I can I will endeavor to answer both these propositions.

This policy is a new one. It is but a few years old, at best. Up to

that time it was the study of the Government, as well as of philanthropists and others, to discover the best way to solve this Indian problem. Various methods have been tried in the past, some of them prompted by the best of feelings towards an unfortunate race that people believed was fading out and would soon pass out of sight and memory in this country forever; and some were hastening on, or endeavoring to hasten on, what they supposed was the inevitable, and thought the sooner it was accomplished, the better. Those who controlled the Government tried every method to get rid of the burden of the Indian. We broke our treaties with him and drove him out of his reservations; we hunted him with our arms; we spent millions of dollars in endeavoring to slay him;—but all in vain. He kept on increasing in this land. He kept upon us the burden we could not relieve ourselves of. And he was constantly in the way. Like the negro, he was always present. And it only came to appear to this people seven or eight years ago that it was utterly in vain to attempt to get clear of the Indian, and that we had better see if we could not make something of him. So the division line between the present policy and the past is drawn here; in the past the Government tried, by fair means or foul, to rid itself of the Indian. The present policy is to make something of him.

That policy had its origin almost in an accident. Eight or nine years ago the Government sent Captain Pratt with warriors, covered with the blood of a merciless war, from the Indian Territory down to Florida; and Captain Pratt, in the discharge of his duty, undertook to relieve himself of the labor of keeping these warriors in idleness, no matter if the work was of no service to anybody if it would keep them out of idleness. With this end in view he got permission to let them pick stones out of the streets. Then he enlisted ladies to teach them to read. Out of that experiment of Captain Pratt's has come all the rest. Behold what a great fire a little matter has kindled! After seeing the success of that small beginning he begged the friends at Washington to take these young warriors to General Armstrong's school at Hampton. General Armstrong was carrying on a school for freedmen exclusively. It was a long time before the War Department would consent to take them there. He took them there by the help of General Armstrong, and they made just so many men out of those bloody warriors. Captain Pratt told me that all but one of those prisoners of war were now honest, industrious, honorable and respected citizens of the United States, earning their livelihood and exerting a good influence. Then came Carlisle; and then came the mixture of Indians with the freedmen at General Armstrong's school; and then came all the other training-schools. Then came, also, eighty boarding-schools, and while before that day comparatively little was done for the education of the young Indian, Government last year appropriated \$1,100,000 for the purpose, and more than 15,000



Indian children were attending school. The training-schools have turned out goods to be sold in the markets, and to furnish the reservations with shoes, tin-ware, wagons, harness, etc., and more than all that, they have turned out well-trained young men who have gone out to seek opportunities for usefulness to their tribe. We have undertaken, also, by appropriations, to teach them farming. We have appropriated money for assistant farmers to go and stand by each one of those Indians the moment he desires to take up land in severalty. Under this new policy Miss Fletcher has been inspired to go to Washington and prepare a bill under which every one of the Omaha Tribe has been set up in severalty, on a home of his own, maintaining himself and family, and furnishing the fruits of his industry for the markets of Omaha, and all the remainder of the Omaha Reservation has been sold and the proceeds put at interest for their benefit. A single agent, under the inspiration of this new policy up at the Devil's Lake Agency in Dakota, has put every one of his Indians on farms of their own, where they raised last year 18,000 bushels of wheat and all the produce necessary for their own support. After accomplishing this, this agent went down to Standing Rock, where there are 35,000 Indians, including Sitting Bull, and under the inspiration of this same policy, he put one-third of them upon farms. Let him alone two or three years longer and three-fourths of these Indians, who ten years ago were wild Indians, will be farmers maintaining themselves by their own hands. No one can read the letters Miss Ludlow is publishing in the *Boston Journal*, without becoming enthusiastic in this work ; without feeling that this work is one in which he can afford to spend his strength, and to which, as the gentleman said last night, he can well consecrate himself.

To my mind there is enough in it now and here, this very hour, without troubling ourselves with speculations as to plans for the future. I want to see this policy as it is pushed to its utmost, and to have every new element and device brought into its work in the school, in the family, on the reservation, in the agency, and everywhere ; everything that will contribute to the carrying out of this policy which takes the individual Indian and treats him as a man, and tries to build him up and make something of him, and recognizes the fact that he is a child and must be taught everything a child is taught, to say nothing of that of which he must be unlearned. The Indian has grown up under the old policy of the Government in ignorance of what he was made for, or what he is capable of being, and the idea that you can by enactment set him upon his feet and bid him walk, is to my mind futile and absurd. Along with this policy, and as a part of it, we have a great many schemes of good, honest people, desirous of contributing to the same ends ; but they sometimes perplex and embarrass. Take this idea of land in severalty. Two or three years ago the whole land was full of it. Everybody was saying, " All you will ever get out of it will be to give the Indian land in severalty,

and then let him take care of himself." My friend Whittlesey will excuse me if I allude to what he said last night. He proposes to say to the Indian race, "Root, hog, or die." There is a good deal of philosophy in that phrase, but it was not applied to a human being who has a soul, or who is capable of being made a human being. You did not apply it to the freedman when you knocked off his shackles.

GEN. WHITTLESEY: I did not use that language; I quoted St. Paul.

MR. DAWES: If St. Paul was here and had 250,000 Indians on his hands, whom the United States had sought for one hundred years to rob of every means of obtaining a livelihood, and had helped bring up in ignorance, he never would have said to them, "He that will not work, shall not eat." You did not say that to the poor black man; you did not say that to the little children whom you sent by contribution out into the country for fresh air, and you ought not to say it to this poor helpless race, helpless in their ignorance, and ignorant because we have fostered their ignorance. We have appropriated more money to keep them in absolute darkness, and heathenism, and idleness, than would have been required to send every one of them to college, and now we propose to turn them out. We did not relieve ourselves of the responsibility by that indifference; we have got to take them by the hand like little children and bring them up out of this ignorance, for they multiply upon our hands, and their heritage is being wrenched away from them, and good men as well as bad are devising means to take it away.

What is to become of them then? Have we done our duty to this people when we have said to them: "We will scatter you and let you become isolated and vagabonds on the earth, and then we will apply to you the philosophic command, 'Go, take care of yourselves; we have every dollar of your possessions, every acre of your heritage; we have killed more of your fellows than there are of you left; we have burnt your little homes, and now we have arrived at the conclusion that it is time to take away from you the last foot of ground upon which you can rest, and we shall have done our duty when we command you to take care of yourselves?'" That is not the way I read it; I know how sincere and honest, and probably as near right everybody else is, but I am only telling how I feel. I feel just this; that every dollar of money, and every hour of effort that can be applied to each individual Indian, day and night, in season and out of season, with patience and perseverance, with kindness and with charity, is not only due him in atonement for what we have inflicted upon him in the past, but is our own obligation towards him in order that we may not have him a vagabond and a pauper, without home or occupation among us in this land. One or the other is the alternative; he is to be a vagabond about our streets, begging from door to door, and plundering our citizens, or he is to be taken

up and made a man among us ; a citizen of this great republic, absorbed into the body politic and made a useful and influential citizen.

I have stated these things briefly, but cannot call to mind all the grand results we have accomplished under this policy ; a policy that has stimulated us, created a new sentiment, and found its life and force among the good people of this country, and it has become necessary for us to find out how, by authority of law, this thing which I have said it is our duty to accomplish, can be brought about.

It soon became evident that no one rule could be applied to all these Indians ; that no one method could lift them all out of their degradation and darkness into light and manhood. That which would do for the strong and stalwart Indians in Dakota would not do for the Pueblos in New Mexico ; that which was the thing on the Omaha reservation was the last thing to be done on the Navajoe reservation ; that heroic treatment which was required by the warlike Crows in Montana, was nothing but absolute cruelty when applied to the gentle Indians in Southern California, or the hard-working Indians in Northern California, so that one law and a uniform system is impossible. What will you do then ? There is no authority of law existing now ; somebody must be clothed with the authority of law to do with a tribe what its necessities demand. Is not that rational ? If you clothe anybody with authority and then undertake to prescribe what he shall do, you block his work. It is impossible to do exactly with one Indian as you do with another, so legislators said that somebody must be authorized to do the work. To take this policy and carry it out, somebody has got to be trusted. Of course, you are liable to trust a bad man, and that is a misfortune ; but you are no more likely to trust a bad man than you are when you trust three hundred. You must take the risk. Out of this has come what is called the Coke Bill. It has been a slow growth ; the germ originated with Secretary Schurz and Senator Kirkwood. Then it came before the Committee of Indian Affairs in the Senate, and they worked a month or two upon it, and at last brought it before Congress, and it was debated three weeks. After that, and when it got much into the condition of your resolutions of this morning, it was recommitted to that Committee, and they took it up, and debated, and amended, and out of that came the Coke Bill as it is now, and every Senator voted for it. I do not claim any merit for my part in it ; but seventy-five other and very respectable men took hold of it, and they believed, upon careful examination, and after every feature of it was explained, that it was the wisest measure they could devise. It is with some confidence, therefore, that I take up that bill to-night with your permission, and your patience, and try to tell you what it endeavors to do.

The purpose of the bill is to clothe the Secretary of the Interior with all the power he needs to do everything in respect to the Indian that

every one of you said to-day he wanted to have done. It is, first, to put the Indian in severalty on a farm; next, after having done that, to sell all the rest of his reservation; next, to give him all the rights and privileges of any white man in the courts. When it was drawn, it was supposed he was a citizen, and if it is ever introduced again it will have a provision that makes him a citizen. It provides also, if any Indian does not want to stay on his reservation, that the Secretary of the Interior shall give him a farm somewhere else, wherever he—the Indian—may choose to select it on the public domain. I think that will scatter him as much as you wish, unless it is proposed to get a tribe together and then say "Scatter!" But if you intend to let an Indian select his own home, he can go anywhere on the public domain he wishes, and ask the Secretary of the Interior to give him one of these patents of 160 acres. He is obliged to give it to him, and that is not all; it looks out for him afterwards. It doesn't give him the deed, and say, "Go!" and then allow a white man with a jug of whiskey to come and take the land away from him, nor a hostile community to take it. It gives it in such a way that neither the United States nor he can part with it; that nobody can levy a tax, and no contract with respect to it shall be valid that is made before the end of twenty-five years. It goes on the theory that every Indian who is capable of knowing what a farm is, and what men do on a farm, and wants to do that himself, shall have a farm of 160 acres, and shall select it himself, and then the United States and he together shall hold the title, the United States holding it exclusively for him, if he happens to die before the twenty-five years. At that time it is presumed he will so understand himself and his farm, and his neighbors, that he can be trusted to sell it. Then the United States is to give him an absolute deed with the great seal on it, and it has got to be absolutely free at that moment. It must be in the beginning upon his reservation, because that belongs to him and it is a part of his heritage. It provides, however, for just the contingency suggested this morning—the desirability of getting these Indians spread out and brought into contact with civilization. Most kinds of civilization have a wonderful effect upon the Indian; I wish all civilization did. Again, under this bill, it must be the Indian's choice. It is now supposed that you can take an Indian against his will—by the nape of his neck, if I may say so—tell him to be a farmer and then go off and leave him, but you can't make anything of him under that process. An Indian will not make much of a farmer unless he can be inspired with a desire to be one, and unless you show him how. It is a work of time; I heard a proposition here this morning to abolish the reservations immediately; but the Coke Bill does not go on that principle. It goes upon the principle that one of the difficulties of making a farmer out of the Indian is the uncertainty of his tenure to his land. You can make nothing out of the Indian

unless you make a home for him. That is the starting-point of civilization. Unless you can make him feel that his home is a permanent one, and take away that feeling of uncertainty about it—the feeling that the white man is liable at any time to come and take away his home—he will have no desire to improve it. But when he comes to understand that the first thing about his home is that it is his absolutely and cannot be taken away, you have a basis upon which you can arouse in him a desire to make that home better than it is.

Now, I want to show you a feature of the bill which has struck some with alarm. There are three kinds of titles: First, A treaty title; Second, A statute title; and Third, A reservation under an executive title. A statute title is one created by statute since we passed a law that there should be no more treaties made. It is another name for the treaty title. This bill provides that, in all cases, bands and tribes, either by virtue of treaty stipulations, or by act of Congress, shall have this patent. It is confined to these two. The title by executive order, is not included here, because the title by executive order is created by the President's will, and can be modified to-morrow, or extinguished altogether. Therefore, the Indians have no interest in it, but the title by treaty and statute is a title by purchase. They have bought that land in every instance, and they have paid for it. Every treaty title is a title in exchange for something else. Take the great Sioux reservation, covered by the treaty of 1868. They bought this land, and the United States covenanted with them that they should occupy it forever. That made a title-deed as perfect as yours to your home, and, if anybody should attempt to disturb them in it—if they were citizens so that they could go into court—they could hold it against the United States, or anybody else. And the proposition to give a patent for that is only a proposition to exchange one title-deed for another. It is only to provide for what may happen hereafter, viz.: When an Indian wants a piece of land in severalty, he shall have a patent in severalty which shall supersede this. This patent has no other force than the matter of convenience. It does not alter the Indian's legal status one atom. He has a right to his deed, just the same as you have to yours, and, to talk of taking that land from them without their consent, for their good, is the same as talking about taking away our neighbor's title to his home for his good. We may think it for his good, and doubtless it would be; but how would you like to have your town vote that it would be for your good to move somewhere else, and they take your home? It would be no different from this proposition. It might be for your good, but then it was your home.

Now, there is no bugbear in that patent; it is as innocent as a piece of paper. It goes upon the theory that all the tribes who hold reservations, may own their land. It goes upon the idea that you can do the

most good by keeping faith with the Indian. You can do nothing with him when he thinks you do not keep your word. You go to the Indians on the Sioux reservation, and say: "We propose to treat with you, and get your consent if we can; but, if we cannot, we propose to go ahead just the same." That is like the Vicar of Wakefield's son, who went, with his father's horse, to the market to sell it, and, when asked his price, he said: "I ask \$60 for him if I can get it, but if I can't get that I will take \$40." Have not we been asking to have these treaties kept ever since this new policy was born and nursed by that valiant and glorious band of women in Philadelphia, who went around the country, obtaining signatures to petitions to Congress, calling upon Congress to keep its obligations to the Indians? That noble woman, Mrs. Quinton, came with a petition, upon which were 100,000 names, rolled up in the National colors as most fitting, and the first prayer was to observe these treaty obligations. She found members in both Houses, to stand up with that magnificent petition, and pledge themselves to maintain the treaty obligations of the United States. [Applause.] Of course, every other citizen is at liberty to do as he pleases, but those who committed themselves there, and have striven, in season and out, to maintain these treaty obligations, and protect the right of the Indian against the encroachments of those who make it a business to protect the treaties only so far as their own interests are concerned, cannot go back on themselves. They have no moral ground on which to stand but to keep their faith. It may cost something, but it is no credit to a man to keep a profitable bargain. It does not cost much to keep a contract when you make something by it. He alone is a man who keeps a contract to his cost. The Bible says that, "He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not, shall be honored." Therefore, I beg of you, not to ask of these men in Congress, who stand before the country, committed, that they shall openly violate the solemn treaties they have made. This bill goes upon the theory that we are to work out this Indian problem by keeping our faith. Somebody said that, under this bill, it would be utterly impossible to distribute these Indians; they would have to be huddled together upon their reservation. If they want their lands in severalty upon their own reservation, they must have it there, for you cannot force them. But, if they want them anywhere else, here is what the bill says about it. [Reads from Coke Bill.]

Now can you devise any more efficient and practical way of diffusing him, and scattering him? He can go anywhere he pleases upon lands unappropriated. And when he is prepared; when he understands what this means; when he desires to profit by it, and when he has the allotment made, what then? [Reads "Upon the completion of said allotments," etc., from Coke Bill, *q. v.*]

GENERAL WHITTLESEY: Is not that citizenship?

I will read what it shall be, when perfected. [Reads.] "All those who take these allotments are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States." [Applause.]

Now, if you can devise a broader provision; if you can suggest a better method, those who have charge of this bill will gladly accept the amendment. The bill is by no means a perfect one, but it is not much like what it was; it has been growing better and better, and I hope it will be a good deal better, for having been brought into this assembly. If any one can suggest any better way for the allotment of land in severalty which allows us to keep our honest faith, I wish he would suggest it. I have no pride in this matter. It so happens with me, that the more I have to do with the Indian, the greater become the perplexities, and the more distrustful I become of myself; and, therefore, in all sincerity, I beg of those interested, to improve that bill if they can. I will say that, among the seventy-five other senators who supported this bill, were men who had spent a great deal of time upon the frontier, among the Indians, and who knew their character and temptations. Some of these senators were anything but friendly to this idea of ours, and yet they took up section after section of the bill, and they determined that, on the whole, it was the best thing to do, and they voted for it, every one of them. It meets their commendation as well as yours that the public sentiment which you have stimulated and directed, may be turned to the benefit of that bill. It would have passed the House, if it could have reached a vote. If it could have been in the hands of a sincere and earnest Secretary of the Interior, the Indian problem would have been so worked out, that we should have seen the other side of the question. I am, myself, bound up in the success of some measure like that.

Now, that the Indian can be made something of, I want to tell you what I have seen during the last summer. I spent my vacation among the five civilized tribes, as they are called. It is within the memory of some of us here that these tribes were once wild blanket Indians in Georgia and Alabama; and the Rev. Mr. Worcester who was sent to teach them the Bible was sent to the penitentiary for doing so. The United States surrendered its power to Georgia, and, because Georgia undertook to crush them out, took them and planted them in the Indian Territory; and when Mr. Worcester got out of the penitentiary he followed them there. He had consecrated his life to educating these Indians. The United States gave them a patent to that land—an absolute deed. I have seen the original of it; it is just as perfect as any deed you ever held. They were, from that time, absolutely and permanently fixed there. By the help of Mr. Worcester, and those who helped him, they have wrought out a government on their own soil without our help. The fundamental idea was that they stood upon their own land, and knew it could not be taken away from them. They have a principal

chief and a written constitution, and a legislature elected once in four years; it is composed of a Senate and House. They have a Supreme Court, a County Court, and a school system of which compulsory education is a feature. It compels every child within school age to attend school, which is taught in the English language. They have a high school for girls and one for boys, in buildings that would be respectable in Massachusetts. In one of these buildings, close to Mr. Worcester's grave, I saw one hundred girls taught by Indian teachers, superintended by a white woman. I heard Indian girls recite to an Indian teacher in Moral Philosophy. I went a few miles away to a high school for boys, one class of which were laying out surveys, and it was beyond my comprehension whether they were good or bad; another class was reciting Latin; some of them are sent, at the expense of the Government, into the States for education. I once heard a Senator of the United States, —and not a great while ago, and he was born in Massachusetts and educated there—I heard him in the Senate of the United States denounce this appropriation for Indian schools, declaring that there was not an instance of an Indian who had been educated and made to take care of himself. I heard Mr. Garrett, of Princeton, introduce that Senator to this High School and tell them that he was the silver-tongued orator of the United States. He told them of their possibilities and capacities, and how to work out their problem. I had a further satisfaction when we called a pure-blooded Indian before us, and he discoursed upon what had been done by their people. The same Senator asked him: "Where did you get your education?" "At Dartmouth College, Sir." The head chief told us that there was not a family in that whole Nation that had not a home of its own. There was not a pauper in that Nation, and the Nation did not owe a dollar. It built its own capitol, in which we had this examination, and it built its schools and its hospitals. Yet the defect of the system was apparent. They have got as far as they can go, because they own their land in common. It is Henry George's system, and under that there is no enterprise to make your home any better than that of your neighbors. There is no selfishness, which is at the bottom of civilization. Till this people will consent to give up their lands, and divide them among their citizens so that each can own the land he cultivates, they will not make much more progress. But there is another lesson; they are intensely afraid of the United States. They distrust this Government. They lean away from us, although they are in our midst. Although they own territory, and have a population capable of becoming a State of this nation, instead of becoming part and lot with us, they are leaning away from us. Why? Those who want to take away the Indian's land without his consent can find a lesson in this. When we made our last treaty with them, we provided that a railroad should run through their territory. When we chartered the



Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad to run through there, we foolishly put into the grant that whenever the Indian title becomes extinct this railroad shall have a strip twenty miles wide. The Indian has been made to believe that the United States is after that land, and that if they have anything to do with the United States it will get that land from them, and so you cannot treat with these Indians. They won't have anything to do with you. They prefer to be isolated because they cannot trust us. We have tried to get their land, and there is no possibility of treating with them till that delusion is got out of their minds. These five nations will stand off and be isolated under a system that has got its growth. I give this illustration to show what a tribe of Indians can do if they are firmly fixed in their homes, and also to show how the United States, in order to accomplish this new policy, must have the confidence of the Indian growing out of the fact that we don't lie to him. Why does the Indian trust General Crook, that most efficient fighter? Because he always kept his word with the Indian. Who are the men who accomplish the most with the Indians? The men who, they believe, mean what they say. When I went to Dakota, following after that Commission that tried to get the land from them, they told me there was a man who wore somebody else's hair on his head (a wig), who had made a great many treaties with them. Every time a treaty was made with the Sioux you would find his name on it. They said: "He is always after something. When he made the treaty of 1878 he promised us so many cows. When he made the treaty of the Black Hills he promised us so many cows. But 'nary a cow.'" Now, if you expect to accomplish anything with an Indian, let him know that you regard your obligations just as much as you expect him to observe his; then you can work out this problem. Take this bill; you make him believe it is for his interest to set him up and give him his patent. With it the tribe is gone, and the tribal deed is gone, because this bill provides the patent shall supersede the other. When a man has set himself up on his farm, he doesn't want anything to do with a reservation, so that your reservation fades out of itself and disappears like the snow in April. When you have set the Indian upon his feet, instead of telling him to "Root, hog, or die," you take him by the hand and show him how to earn his daily bread. You have got him among the fellow citizens of this body politic; you have "admixt" him. [Laughter.] In a word, you have put him in a way for caring for himself. Now, is not what we have accomplished enough to encourage us to put forth all our efforts to continue in this work? Why busy ourselves with new plans, when these glorious results have attended the work we are doing? Why not turn our efforts towards increasing the facilities for educating the Indian? All that makes him a man is education. Let us devise new methods, and let us carry out the glorious idea of General Armstrong of bringing families of young married people to

the schools and teaching them how to set up housekeeping and be men and women. Let us see that Congress makes provision for this, so that when they go back they will find employment and encouragement, and not be compelled, as many are, not only to seek all this without being able to find it, but also to meet the scoffs of the wild blanketed Indians around them. The marvel is that one in twenty is able to stand that test instead of only one in a hundred going back to barbarism. It is the duty of the Government to teach them trades and find something for them to do. There are a thousand ways in which to busy ourselves in devising new methods, and in pushing on the one great work. When we have that, all these difficulties that we have been anticipating in the future will have disappeared. I have found more trouble in trying to get over difficulties which were away out yonder, and which in point of fact, when I got there, were not there at all, than any at my feet. I am not troubling myself to-day as to what I shall do with an Indian's reservation who shall not consent to give it up. I have as much as I can do to-day. I beg you to do all you can, and hold up the hands of all who are doing this work. [Applause.]

#### THE NEED OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

The Hon. Wm. H. Lyon, of Brooklyn, N. Y., one of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was the next speaker. He said: "I believe in homes for the Indians, and I was pleased with Judge Strong's remark that there is no civilization without homes. The homes of the Indians that I have seen are not such as would lead to civilization,—many of them, at least. In regard to education, the great drift of the work has been to educate children up to twenty years of age; but I think there are 200,000 Indians over twenty who are entitled to some consideration in the way of an education. They are not allowed in the schools after they are twenty-five years old. If they are to have homes and lands in severalty, the next thing will be to have agricultural instructors. They want homes and houses and a little household furniture, and then agricultural implements and agricultural teachers. Agent Dyer of the Cheyennes says, in his last report, that it seems strange to him that \$300,000 per year can be secured to purchase beef and flour, when 25 farmers as industrial teachers, with suitable implements, would save this large sum. In the last few years we have purchased more than 15 millions of dollars' worth of beef. This money could be saved if the Indians were not kept in idleness, but were taught agriculture. It has been said here that when they leave Hampton and Carlisle they are fitted to care for themselves, but the scholars I have seen are not of that kind. If this Coke Bill can be passed and homes obtained in severalty, the next want will be agricultural teachers. At the Devil's Lake Agency some of the teachers will not instruct them unless they connect

religious instruction with their work. Major McLaughlin attends to the farming, and the Mother Superior of the grey nuns of Montreal superintends their studies. This year they have raised 60,000 bushels of wheat, because they are educated in the line of farming. To show the importance of educating Indians to raise their own supplies, I will say that last season we purchased 8,000,000 pounds of flour; 900,000 pounds of corn and corn meal; 100,000 pounds of barley, and 139,000 pounds of beans. All this they could have raised themselves if they had been taught agriculture. I will only say that I hope, if that bill passes and the Indians get land in severalty, that some provision will be made for agricultural instructors."

Miss Alice C. Fletcher closed the evening with an address on treaty-keeping, in which she emphasized the fact that the idea of "trade" has been at the bottom of all our treaties; that such portions of treaties as call for vast expenditures for annuities, food and clothing—material things, most of which tend to pauperize the Indian—are carried out to the letter, because the purchase and distribution tend to help the general trade of the country, while those portions of the treaties which require the education of the Indian are either ignored or only very slightly regarded, so that to-day the Government, according to treaty requirements, owes the Indian more than two millions of dollars for educational purposes. In response to a question, Miss Fletcher disclaimed any thought of reflection upon the honesty with which supplies are purchased for the Indians, merely desiring to call attention to the fact that matters of least benefit to the Indian received the most attention, because they were of benefit to the trade of the country.

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### THIRD DAY—MORNING SESSION.

At the opening of the session, before the final report of the Business Committee, addresses were made by Mrs. W. W. Crannell, Secretary of the Eastern New York Indian Association, and by Mrs. A. S. Quinton, of Philadelphia, Secretary of the Woman's National Indian Association.

#### WOMAN'S WORK FOR THE INDIAN.

Mrs. Quinton said: The work of the Woman's National Association began six years ago last spring. It originated in a desire to make known the facts as to the Indian's needs; to consolidate the work of the friends of the Indian, and help bring forward some lines of work that all could pursue. The first thing was simply to make the facts known, and that was done in four different ways: First, by mass meetings; second, through the circulation of leaflets and pamphlets; third, through memorials to Government; and fourth, through newspaper work. From

the beginning the appeal was to Christians, to pastors of churches, and to editors. The thought was that with ten millions of Christian people in this country the Indian question could be settled in a just way and in accordance with Gospel principles, since these were believed to be the most practical. A good deal of work was done at first without any organization. The first work was the circulating of petitions to Congress to keep the treaties. The first petition was circulated in fifteen States and went to the House of Representatives that year. That petition had 13,000 signatures. The next year we had one that represented 50,000 people. This was presented in the Senate by Senator Dawes. The third represented 100,000, and was also presented by Senator Dawes in the Senate. It was brought up in the House several days later. The second and third of these petitions were also presented to the President at the White House. The organizing of the Society began the latter part of the second, and the first part of the third years. We have auxiliaries in twenty-seven States, and there are fifty-six auxiliary societies. I suppose no one can be perfectly consistent on the Indian question any more than Government can be. The views of the friends of the Indian grow the more they know of the question, so the thought of the women has changed from year to year; but there is no change as to the necessity of keeping our obligations to the Indians, and recognizing them as men and women. Barbarism has no claim upon us, but barbarians have, especially when we have acknowledged our obligation to protect them in their rights. The present objects of the Association are to strengthen public sentiment on behalf of Indians and to secure their rights.

In regard to the missionary work of the Association, that is a new departure. The work of the Society in all its State branches has been done in the ways I have stated. During the last year it was resolved to begin missionary work, and this Department was taken in because of the appeal of Christian women. As I went about I was everywhere met with this remark: "If you will undertake missionary work we will be with you." So the Society agreed to take in this Department, but pledged itself not to go where there were any missions already located, so as not to tread on the ground of others. We give the simplest forms of Christian instruction, reading the Bible and explaining it, then giving domestic teaching, going into the homes of Indian women, and also bringing them to the home of the missionary. This is to set them coveting Christian homes instead of a tent, and to show them the wisdom of doing work in a better way than that to which they had been accustomed. There have been three stations made during the last year. First, at Pawnee. Immediately after we went there we had application from the Woman's Methodist Board of the West, so the Pawnee station was left for them, as that was in our largest tribe. The Government had suggested through the Secretary where the work should be begun. The

Methodist Board has begun a good work, and has an able woman at Pawnee. The next stations were at Otoe and at Ponca, Indian Territory; and negotiations are pending for the transference of these stations to Congregational women of Brooklyn, and we hope that in a few weeks they will be in charge of them. The next station will be among the Sioux of Dakota, and a young lady from Dr. Sunderland's church will go to the new station, and a second missionary with her. Bishop Hare will select that station. It must be where the Government will give house-room gratis, and we hope the station will be under the eye of Bishop Hare, or under the advice of Mr. Thomas Riggs. The Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians are doing a grand work in Dakota, and we hope that in a year one of their societies will be ready to take our station there permanently. The money has been from those largely who have not given for missionary work. We need funds. It is not proper to say a word about this, only the treasury is nearly empty. We want to publish leaflets and pamphlets, and give information in various ways. We are going now to organize in the Southern States. Everything is ready, and with this Democratic administration, of course we need a Southern constituency. We do not send to Congress great popular petitions now; we have learned more direct methods of work.

#### THE PLATFORM.

Dr. Rhoads reported from the Business Committee the following statement, which he said received the cordial approval of every member of the Committee:

The Indian question can never be settled except on principles of justice and equal rights. In its settlement all property rights of the Indians should be sacredly guarded, and all obligations should be faithfully fulfilled. Keeping this steadily in view, the object of all legislative and executive action hereafter should be not the isolation of the Indians, but the abrogation of the Indian reservations as rapidly as possible, the permitted diffusion of the Indians among the people in order that they may become acquainted with civilized habits and modes of life; the ultimate discontinuance of annuities, so promotive of idleness and pauperism; the subjection of the Indians to the laws of the United States, and of the States and Territories where they may reside, and their protection by the same laws as those by which citizens are protected; the opening of all the territory of the United States to their possible acquisition and to civilization, and the early admission of Indians to American citizenship. These objects should be steadily kept in view, and pursued immediately, vigorously and continuously. The measures we recommend for their accomplishment are the following:

1. The present system of Indian education should be enlarged, and

a comprehensive plan should be adopted, which shall place all Indian children in schools under compulsion if necessary, and shall provide industrial education for a large proportion of them. Adult Indians should be brought under preparation for self-support. To this end the free ration system should be discontinued as rapidly as possible, and a sufficient number of farmers and other industrial teachers should be provided meantime to teach them to earn their own living.

2. Immediate measures should be taken to break up the system of holding all lands in common, and each Indian family should receive a patent for a portion of land to be held in severalty, its amount dependent upon the number of members of the family and the character of the land, whether adapted for cultivation or for grazing. This land should be inalienable for a period of twenty-five years. The Coke Bill, as embodying this principle, has our earnest support, and is urged upon all friends of the Indians as the one practicable measure for securing these ends.

3. All portions of the Indian reservations which are not so allotted should, after the Indians have selected and secured their lands, be purchased by the Government at a fair rate, and be thrown open to settlement.

4. The cash value of the lands thus purchased should be set aside by the Government as a fund to be expended as rapidly as can be wisely done for their benefit, especially their industrial and educational advancement.

5. In order to carry out the preceding recommendations legal provision should be made for the necessary surveys of reservations; and wherever necessary, negotiations should be entered into for the modification of the present treaties, and these negotiations should be pressed in every honorable way until the consent of the Indians be obtained.

6. Indians belonging to tribes which give up their reservations and accept allotments of land in severalty, and all Indians that abandon their tribal organization and adopt the habits and modes of civilized life, should be at once admitted to citizenship of the United States, become subject to and entitled to the protection of the laws of the United States and of the States or Territories where they may reside.

7. During this process of civilization some representative of the United States Government should be charged with the protection and instruction of the Indians. But all such officers should be withdrawn as soon as the Indians are capable of self-support and self-protection.

8. We are unalterably opposed to the removal of tribes of Indians from their established homes, and massing them together in one or more Territories, as injurious to the Indian and an impediment to civilization.

9. We thankfully recognize the growing interest taken by the legis-

lative and executive departments of our country in the welfare of the Indians, and the increased desire manifest among our people West and East to do them justice. And our thanks are also due to the religious and philanthropic organizations which have fostered this interest, and have supplemented the work of the Government by their missionary and educational labors. But we believe that what has been done in the past is but a beginning, and that both Government and individuals must do much more before the debt we owe to the Indians can be paid.

#### DR. LYMAN ABBOTT'S REMARKS.

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT: "I shall try to keep myself within the fifteen minutes, and as the time is so short I am sure the Conference will excuse me if I take no time for personal references or compliments, nor even for what, in a public address might be more necessary, of qualification and limitation, but put as sharply as I can the ideas I have upon this subject.

"In the first place, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, there are one or two things we may take for granted: We may take it for granted that we are not here to criticise legislation—certainly not those who have been laboring in the earlier periods of this movement against bitter hostility, sometimes open and avowed, and sometimes, harder to meet,—secret. We think it an honor that we are permitted to be enrolled with them, and we recognize gratefully the services they have rendered, are rendering, and have yet to render. In what I shall say this morning I hope I shall not be understood as criticising the Coke bill. So far as I understand it, it has my hearty and warm approval. I shall be glad to vote with the Conference an expression of that approval.

"In the second place, it may be taken for granted that we are Christian men and women; that we believe in justice, good-will, and charity, and the brotherhood of the human race. At least none of us here desire to break the Ten Commandments, nor break down honor and rectitude. I think it may be taken for granted that all of us here are—I will not say friends of the Indian, but friends of humanity, and friends of equal rights; that there is no person invited here, and no one who has come, who desires for one moment, having sworn to his own hurt, to change, or alter, or break a contract or a treaty that he may be benefited by the breaking of it. But if we have made a bad contract it is better broken than kept. I do not propose to argue the question of treaty at any length, but it is proper to state the position I hold, with some others, on this subject.

"It is not right to do a wrong thing, and if you have agreed to do a wrong thing, that agreement does not make it right. If we have made contracts the result of which, as shown by later experience, is inhumanity and degradation, we are not bound to go on with them—we are bound

to stop. A few years ago the United States Government was giving scalping-knives to the Indians. No matter on what parchment the treaty was made, we were bound to stop the issue of the scalping-knives. If we had agreed with some tribe in ancient time that we would set up no school-house or church with them, we should have no right to go on with that treaty. If we have bound a millstone about the neck of the Indian, the first step of justice is to cut the cord and set him free. We have no right to keep a drunken Indian in darkness because we have agreed to do so till he has learned the evil effects of whiskey. The people of these United States made a sacred compact with one another—the Constitution of the United States—and we were told by the highest judicial and constitutional authorities that that Constitution required us to catch and return the fugitive slave. There were some who believed in a higher law—and I was one of them—under which no contract could be executed that made it our duty to become bloodhounds to pursue a fleeing man. We have no right to do a wrong because we have covenanted to. With these brief words on the subject of treaty making, I pass to the larger question, because our obligations to the Indian are not primarily rooted in contract or treaty. Our primary obligations to the Indian are of a much more fundamental character—the duties that the strong owe to the weak; that the Government owes to those under it; that man owes to his fellow man. We have no contract with the negro; but we owe duties to him. We have no contract with the Chinaman; but I think we owe him something. We have no contract with the Italian, the Hungarian, and others; yet we owe them duties. It is of these larger duties we owe that I speak this morning.

“When our fathers landed on these shores, there was no alternative but to make treaties with the Indians; it was necessary. We have now passed beyond the epoch in which it is right or necessary to make treaties, and have so officially declared. We can no longer be bound by our forefathers; we must adapt our policy to the change of circumstances. It is sometimes said that the Indians occupied this country and that we took it away from them; that the country belonged to them. This is not true. The Indians did not occupy this land. A people do not occupy a country simply because they roam over it. They did not occupy the coal mines, nor the gold mines, into which they never struck a pick; nor the rivers which flow to the sea, and on which the music of a mill was never heard. The Indians can scarcely be said to have occupied this country more than the bisons and the buffalo they hunted. Three hundred thousand people have no right to hold a continent and keep at bay a race able to people it and provide the happy homes of civilization. We do owe the Indians sacred rights and obligations, but one of those duties is not the right to let them hold forever the



land they did not occupy, and which they were not making fruitful for themselves or others.

"The reservation system has grown up. It is not necessary to go into the process by which it has grown. It is enough to say that a territory in this country about twice as large as the entire territory of England, Ireland, and Scotland, has been set apart to barbarism by the reservation system. The railroad goes to the edge of it and halts. The post-office goes to the edge of it and halts. There are mines there unopened; great wealth untouched by those who dwell there. The reservation system runs a fence about a great territory and says to civilization, 'Keep off!' It was a great complaint against William the Conqueror that he preserved great forests in the heart of his country for his hunting-ground. We have no right to preserve a territory twice as large as Great Britain for a hunting-ground for any one. If this reservation system was only doing a positive injury to us, then we might endure it. But it holds back civilization and isolates the Indian, and denies him any right which justice demands for him. What are you and I entitled to ask for, living under these stars and stripes? Protection for our homes; protection to go where we wish; a right to buy in the cheapest market; a right to education; the right to appeal to the protection of law; protection for ourselves and children. There is not one of these rights that the reservation system does not put its foot upon. Even under the modified system, modified by recent reforms, the United States says to the Indian, 'You cannot have a home till half or two-thirds of your tribe will agree.' Last night the *New York Times* said that the cowboys were watching along the borders of a distant reservation, waiting to shoot the first Indian that should appear; and unless rumor does the cowboy injustice, his bullet *might* fly across and hit an Indian before leaving his border. The Indian may not carry his goods across the reservation. We deny him an open market. Every right to which we hold ourselves entitled by the God of Heaven, we deny the Indian under this system, and expect to compensate him by putting in here a church and there a school-house. But Christianity is not merely a thing of churches and school-houses. The post-office is a Christianizing institution; the railroad, with all its corruptions, is a Christianizing power, and will do more to teach the people punctuality than schoolmaster or preacher can. I hope you will not think I speak in disrespect of church and school-house. They that are maintaining the church and school-house in those distant reservations are the very ones, without exception, that urge us to break down the barriers and let in the full flood-tide of Christian civilization. Theirs is the appeal, theirs the urgency. We take a few Indians and bring them to Carlisle and Hampton. Captain Pratt at Carlisle and General Armstrong at Hampton have done more for the Indian race—thank God for them!—than any man can do with a glib tongue

or a quick pen. But General Armstrong has told us this year how this reservation system stands against his work, and Captain Pratt tells us the same. You educate an Indian boy and send him back to the Indian Territory. He must not find a wife here, because that would be 'intermingling' with the American population. He looks for a wife there, and they look with as natural disgust upon a beaver hat as he would upon a squaw's blanket. These men, whether in the Territory or out of it, are rowing their boat against the whole tide of our national life and begging us to make it flow the other way.

"I declare my conviction then that the reservation system is hopelessly wrong; that it cannot be amended or modified; that it can only be uprooted, root, trunk, branch and leaf, and a new system put in its place. We evangelical ministers believe in immediate repentance. I hold to immediate repentance as a national duty. Cease to do evil, cease instantly, abruptly, immediately. I hold that the reservation barriers should be cast down and the land given to the Indians in severalty; that every Indian should be protected in his right to his home, and in his right to free intercourse and free trade, whether the rest of the tribe wish him so protected or not; that these are his individual, personal rights, which no tribe has the right to take from him, and no nation the right to sanction the robbery of. Do you ask, 'What would you do to-morrow morning?' We are told that upon the Pacific coast is a tribe of Indians to which patents have been issued, and that these patents are in pigeon-holes in Washington. I would take them out to-morrow and send them to the Indians as fast as the railroad trains can carry them, and I would follow this work up all along the line. I would begin at once a process for the survey and allotment of land to individuals in severalty. I would take the Indian and give him the rights of manhood with this great American people; and if there are any tribes so wild and barbaric that this cannot be done with them, I would put them under close surveillance, and would bring them under a compulsory educative process.

"One word more. It is said that this is not safe; that we must protect the Indian. There are two methods for the protection of the Indian. They were proposed, some fifteen or twenty years ago, for the protection of the negro. A portion of the community believed the wisest thing to do was to place the negroes together in one State, separating them from the rest of the people and massing them on a great reservation, and if it did not cost too much, perhaps sending them to Liberia. This was to protect them from the wrongs their neighbors might do them. But the American people said "No! we will make these men free, we will give them the ballot, and they must protect themselves." We said to the negro just what Gen. Whittlesey said he would do with the Indian; and what St. Paul said eighteen centuries ago I would say still: 'If a man will not work, neither shall he eat.' In the case of the negro, though there

were wrongs perpetrated, yet as the final result, the negro and the white man are adjusting their relations, and coming into harmony. I believe it safer to leave the Indian to the protection of the law than to the protection of the agency. For my part, I would rather run my risk with the laws of the land, and with the courts open to me, than with the agent, who may be a philanthropist, or who may be a politician. We have made progress; we are making progress, but I am sometimes a little impatient, the progress is so slow. I feel a little as Horace Maun did when he came in after attending a convention, full of nervous impetuosity and wrathful at the slowness of the reform. Some one said to him, 'God is patient.' 'Yes,' he said, 'God is patient, but I cannot wait.'"

MR. JOHN H. OBERLY, Superintendent of Indian Schools, Department of the Interior, Washington: "With your President here [indicating Gen. Fisk] I made a treaty, and he has broken it."

The CHAIRMAN: "I fall back on Dr. Abbott; I agreed to a wrong thing, and the time to repent is now."

MR. OBERLY: "But I, the unfortunate victim of the broken contract, must nevertheless suffer."

"The fact is [addressing the Conference], your Chairman made an agreement with me, by the terms of which I, who have none of the skill of a public speaker, was to have been exempted from the (by him) asserted necessity of making a speech to you. He assured me that he, and you too, would be satisfied if I would answer in your hearing, questions that would be asked me relating to Indian schools and to my office. But here I am before you and there is no questioner at work. So what else can I do under the circumstance, than satisfy myself with a protest against the wrong which has been inflicted upon me, and obtain for this wrong an ample revenge by using my uncultivated faculty of speech in inflicting upon you a loose, disjointed, not-at-all-considered address upon a subject to which I have not yet given the study necessary to a proper comprehension of its scope and bearings."

"What the wise Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Dawes] said last night in his interesting address attracted my attention, and what good Dr. Abbott has just said in your hearing has also been attentively listened to by me. These two good men are approaching the same point from opposite directions. The Senator would confer the benefits of civilization upon the Indians by waiting until proper occasion is ripe; and the good work may be done without breaking the nation's word; and the Doctor would do the good work suggested by not waiting, by compelling the Indians to accept our civilization without delay, and by breaking the nation's word with them. But both the wise Senator and the good Doctor have arrived at this common standpoint, that the first essential thing in the attempt to solve the Indian problem is agreement

that the Indian is a man and that he should have individualism. Therefore, both the wise Senator and the good Doctor agree together in the sensible conclusion that, as soon as possible, the paternalism of the Government should be removed from the Indians, who should no longer be considered in our legislation as communities to be nursed and fondled by kind, or to be cursed and whipped by cruel paternalism, but as individuals, as men, each man having the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and every individual being under the provisions of the inexorable law which rests upon every human creature, that he must, before he can attain to the full stature of manhood, work out for himself and in his own way his own destiny (Applause). This can never be done under any system of kind or cruel, fondling or punishing, paternalism.

"While riding with a very pleasant company yesterday afternoon, along one of the roads leading to what is known as 'The Eagle's Cliff,' the scenery within my view recalled to my recollection a mythological story that teaches impressively the importance of individualism in the affairs of the world. To this story, for the purpose of pointing a moral, I may, not inaptly, refer in the hearing of so many gentlemen who preside over institutions of learning, and are scholars—I presume. If recollection does not deal treacherously with me, to this effect the story runs: The Sphinx, a monster, once infested the road near Thebes. At one place in the road, running along the edge of a precipice as deep and steep as the one we look at when we look across the lake from 'The Eagle's Cliff,' this monster crouched, and to every traveller proposed an enigma, with the condition that the one who could solve it might pass in safety, but all who failed should be devoured. Every person who entered into or departed from Thebes had to pass along this road, and was asked the riddle. No one had solved it. Thousands had failed and had perished. One day *Œdipus* passed that way and was arrested by the Sphinx, who said: 'Solve my riddle or die. What being walks in the morning on four feet, at noon on two, and in the evening on three, has one voice, and when with the most feet is weakest?' *Œdipus* answered: 'That being is Man, who in childhood crawls on hands and knees, in manhood walks erect, and in old age walks with a staff.' The Sphinx, mortified at the solution of her riddle, cast herself down the abyss without using her wings, and perished, and ever afterwards the way was clear for those who wished to enter into or depart from Thebes.

"This story teaches the lesson of political individualism, and may be used to give point to the doctrine that paternalism in government is an iniquity, and that all political progress has its foundation in the individual. There are many Sphinx riddles in politics, and the answer to every one is the answer of *Œdipus*, 'Man.' At stated periods in the

history of every nation, a political Sphinx has seated herself at a narrow place on the road to national prosperity and has said: 'Solve my riddle or die. What being walks on four feet in the morning, on two at noon, and on three at night?' To this question some of the nations have replied by saying: 'The King;' others, 'The Nobles;' others, 'Wealth;' others 'The Sword.' The bleaching bones of most of the nations that have replied thus, are scattered all along the highroad of the world's history. The first time in the history of the human race, America gave to the Sphinx riddle of statesmanship the answer of *Cædipus*. 'We, the people,' was the reply the Americans made to the King, by which answer every man who was devoted to the cause of independence said: 'I, the individual, agreeing with my fellow citizens in this conclusion;—I, the individual, having an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, unite with other individuals in saying that the answer to the heretofore unanswered riddle of statesmanship is Man, for whom all governments should be created, because from the individual all legitimate political power primarily flows.' (Applause.)

"This answer was put into the mouths of the American people by Jefferson, who founded the political party of which I am a member, and its application to affairs of state resulted in the assertion of the new political thought, never dreamed of as possible before the days of Jefferson, that charters of power should be granted, not by power, but by liberty. Before the dawn of American liberty, from time immemorial, charters of liberty had been granted by power. The king and the victorious soldier, fresh from won battlefields, had graciously conferred liberty by saying to the people, 'You may.' At Runnymede the bold barons said to King John, 'You must permit us to enjoy life and liberty.' Consulting his fears, the King replied, 'You may.' Thus, liberty came either by the favor or fear of the ruler. Liberty flowed down to the people from power. But when America said to the world, 'The answer to the great political riddle of the ages is, "Manhood, because all legitimate political power comes primarily from the individual,"' a new truth was asserted, and our ancestors set the example of charters of power granted, and limitations of power imposed, by liberty. They revised the old rule and said to their rulers: 'You may,' 'You must,' and 'You shall not.' They gave vitality to the doctrine that the individual citizen had the right to say, 'I consent,' or 'I object;' to say to the government, 'You may,' 'You must,' and 'You shall not.' And now, therefore, in this day of grace, and under our benign political system, liberty no longer flows down to the people from power, but power flows up from the people to the political officer, who holds his office in trust for the public. The ruler—the government—no longer says to the people, 'You may,' 'You must,' and 'You shall not,' but the people

now say to the government, 'You may,' 'You must,' and 'You shall not.' We have given vitality to the political doctrine of individualism.

But in our treatment of the Indian we inconsistently apply the old doctrine that governments should not have their foundations laid in the consent of the governed. As in the olden time, we say to the Indians, 'You may,' 'You must,' and 'You shall not;' and, refusing to recognize individualism among them, we herd them into tribes upon reservations, within the limits of which neither law nor liberty has an abiding place; property rights are unknown; sloth wastes the sluggish body because hands refuse to labor; vices, collected through many ages, are fed by idleness; conscience, not being regularly tilled, produces nothing but the coarse grasses and thorns of virtue; men finish within each day the whole purpose of their existence. While we hold to this policy in Indian affairs, we can never solve the Indian riddle. It must be answered as the Sphinx's was, by a recognition of the manhood of the Indian. Any other answer will result in the failure of the government to accomplish any good. Therefore, the problem now is, how to make fit the Indian, ballot in hand, to say to the government, 'You shall no longer say to me, "You may," "You must," "You shall not;" for now, by the magic power of this little piece of paper, I say to you, "*You may,*" "*You must,*" "*You shall not.*"' How can this be done? How can the Indian be fitted for citizenship and enfranchisement? This is the problem we have to solve.

"I understand Dr. Abbott to say that the Indian can be made fit for citizenship and enfranchisement by the immediate destruction of the reservation, by giving to each Indian land in severalty, and by compelling every Indian to work, under the penalty spoken of by St. Paul, and referred to here yesterday by General Whittlesey, 'That if any would not work, neither should he eat.'

"The good Doctor would pay no attention to the stipulations of our treaties with the Indians. He would abolish the reservations now, treaties or no treaties. But would this be wise? The Doctor says the cowboy, having been driven from a reservation, stands with ready gun outside this reservation, determined to kill all Indians who leave it. If the Doctor's suggestion were acted upon, and the reservation system were immediately abolished, the cowboy would not long stand outside the imaginary line that now marks the limits of the reservation. He would go across it, and soon there would be no Indians living to protest against robbery and violence. To wipe out the reservation lines now, and leave the Indian unprotected from the rapacity of the white man, would be an unpardonable crime.

"Another question, now. Shall we, as the Doctor proposes, compel the Indian to take lands in severalty? The Indian is ignorant and debased ;

he has not been educated to know what property in land is ; he does not know how to own land. He does not know how to use land. Would it then be wise to compel him to enter into the possession of lands allotted to him ? I cannot believe that it would be.

"With Dr. Abbott, and with your declaration of principles, I agree, that the Indian should be admitted to American citizenship, that the reservation system should be destroyed ; that lands should be allotted to the Indians in severalty ; and that the Indian should be compelled to work ; but I would reverse the order of, and in some slight manner change this declaration. I would first teach the Indian how to work ; then I would teach him our ideas of the rights of property, and give him lands in severalty ; then I would abolish the reservation system ; and then make the Indian a citizen and enfranchise him. I would *prepare* him for the unharmed exercise of the rights of a property-holder, a citizen, and a voter. How can this be done ? You have said by enlarging the present system of Indian education. This brings me to the question : What is the present system of Indian education ?

"Replying to this question, I am compelled to say that this system, if, indeed, system it may be called, is a very defective one ; and, contemplating it with curious interest, I am forced to the conclusion that it is what may be called a Topsy system. Topsy, you know (if Topsy may be accepted as good authority), never had a father, never had a mother, never was born ; she 'just grewed.' [Laughter.] So it may be said of the present Indian school system ; it never had a father ; it never had a mother ; it never was born ; it 'just grewed.'

"Under this system, we find Government and mission day-schools on the reservations ; Government and mission boarding-schools on the reservations ; Government and mission training-schools ; colleges and schools in the States and Territories, at which the Government has placed Indian children, under contracts made with such schools and colleges.

"Need I tell you how the teachers and other employés of the Government schools are procured ? In theory, they are all appointed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, excepting the Superintendents of the Industrial Schools, who are appointed by the Secretary of the Interior ; but, in fact, all the employés of the day-schools and reservation boarding-schools are appointed by the Indian Agents. And who are they ? They are men who give large bonds to the Government and draw small salaries for the performance of important duties. Drawing, as his own salary, a thousand or fifteen hundred, or, at most, twenty two hundred dollars per annum, the Indian Agent must, as a matter of course, bring from other sources as great a salary-income into his family as possible, and, therefore, his wife, and sons, and daughters, are often appointed as employés of the schools. The appointment of his wife as matron, if she is competent to fill the place with ability, is desirable ; and, without

injury to the interests of the school, his daughter, if she is qualified, may be appointed teacher; but as the Agent is, in fact, the judge of the qualifications of all the school employes, self-interest often induces him to overlook the importance of not appointing members of his own family who lack the qualifications the interests of the schools require. He must also look after the friends and 'the sisters, and the cousins, and the aunts' of his bondsmen, who are, as a general rule, members of his own political party; and too often the Congressman whose influence procured the Agent his place will say to him, 'I have done you a good turn in this matter, and now you must give Jones, who has for a long time taken care of one of my most troublesome wards, a good place under you;' and so Jones, skilful as a wire-puller, but ignorant of books, is appointed to a place in a school, perhaps. Too many inefficient and unworthy men and women are in this way appointed to places in the Indian schools.

"Now, how can this evil be corrected? How can we obtain school employes in despite of the school-marring influences of partisan politics and personal interests? Luckily we are living under a civil service reform administration, and we may, therefore, hope that the hand of the politician will be taken from the Indian school system. The hand of the Republican partisan will surely be taken from it—at least, temporarily; no doubt of that. [Laughter.] As I look around me here I feel lonesome; you are nearly all Republicans."

The CHAIRMAN: "Why, look at that man [pointing at Hon. Erastus Brooks], and that, and that!"

MR. OBERLY: "Now that we are in [addressing the persons indicated by the Chairman], we find nothing but Republican employes in the schools, and what are we going to do about it? Shall we turn them all out, and put Democrats in? Whenever a Republican Indian Agent retires from office at the expiration of his term, or is retired because he has been an offensive partisan or an incompetent or unfaithful officer, or a dishonest man, a Democrat is, as a matter of course, put into his place. This Democrat does not receive a higher salary than his Republican predecessor received, or give a smaller bond than the Republican gave, and we may admit, I venture to say, that he will be solicited by a not less hungry lot of office-seekers; indeed, it would be strange if this set of office-seekers were not hungrier than that set, because, you know, we, Democrats, have not had anything to eat for twenty-four years. [Laughter.] What—what will the Democratic Indian Agent do about it? I do not know.

"But this I do know, that every Indian Agent will be hereafter required to send to the Indian office, with his nomination of any school employe—with his nomination of a superintendent, or matron, or teacher, or industrial teacher or farmer, or blacksmith, or carpenter, or seamstress,



or laundress, or cook, evidences that the person nominated is qualified to fill with ability the position named, and is industrious, zealous, and of good reputation. And the Agent will, also, be required to give his reasons for making any removal of a school employé—to give his reasons in full; and, if these reasons do not show that the removal has been made for good cause, the removal will not be approved. In this way, it is to be hoped the removal of worthy, and the appointment of unworthy employés may be prevented. So far, every Superintendent of an Industrial School, appointed since the 4th of last March, has been instructed to make no removals of employés simply on account of political affiliations, but to make as many removals as possible on account of inefficiency and unworthiness.

“By another method, we will attempt to give more efficient employés to and add to the usefulness of some of the more important schools. Whenever a boarding-school on a reservation is distant from the Agency, and cannot, therefore, receive the daily attention of the Agent, the authority of the Secretary of the Interior will be requested to separate that school from the Agency, and put it under a bonded Superintendent, who will be appointed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, be required to furnish evidence that he is a competent educator and a business man; and he will be paid, what is not paid to any Superintendent of any reservation boarding-school now, a good salary for the faithful and skilful performance of his duty.

“Ladies and gentlemen, partisan politics have, heretofore, controlled every Indian agency, and packed the Indian schools with the proteges of politicians, in this way crippling the schools, and robbing them of much of their efficiency. You must, therefore, permit me to say that you should thank the Lord that the Democratic party has come into power, and is determined to make merit and competency, instead of partisan considerations, paramount tests, and apply then to every applicant for a position in the Indian school service. To be entirely frank with you, I will say that, if a vacancy existed in any school, and there were two candidates for the place, one a Democrat and the other a Republican, and they were of equal ability and merit, no Agent or Superintendent would be called into question, if he were to prefer a Democrat, but he would be applauded every time he preferred a worthy and competent Republican to an unworthy and incompetent Democrat.

“Now, having determined upon a plan by which we may obtain competent and worthy employés, how are we to obtain pupils for the schools?

“The Indians reluctantly send their children to school. They are in no hurry to accept the great boon of a free education, which the government is now so kindly and wisely offering to them. They are unlike Dr. Abbott; they can wait. Many of them absolutely refuse to permit their sons and daughters to enter a schoolroom, and say: ‘Education is for

the white man, not for the Indian. Our children must grow up to be Indians with Indian ways, and the school would make them white men with the white man's ways.' Sometimes, the Agent, by direction of the Indian office, says to the Indian protestant against the schools: 'I will not pay you your annuity until your children have been sent to the school.' Then the children appear in the school, the annuities are paid, and the children at once disappear from the school. What can be done to overcome this difficulty? A good many of our treaties with the Indians provide that the Government shall build school-houses, and furnish to the contracting tribes educational facilities, the Indians, on their part, agreeing that rations and annuities shall be withheld, if children are not supplied to the schools by their parents. I think I may promise that Secretary Lamar and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Atkins, who have this matter much at heart, will give the necessary authority for enforcing these provisions of our Indian treaties. Even an Indian would rather have his children educated than starve or suffer for want of food. But all that can be done in this way under the treaties will not be successful in compelling many—a great majority—of the Indian children of school age to attend the schools. This can be done only by a rigid law requiring the attendance of Indian children at the schools under certain penalties to be inflicted upon the refusing parents. Compulsory education must be resorted to. The Indians are the wards of the nation, and they must, until they are emancipated from this evil paternal system, be compelled to be good to themselves, if such compulsion can be resorted to, without doing violence to any of their treaty rights. I believe that a law, requiring every reservation Indian in the United States to send his children to school, and punishing him for refusing or neglecting to do so, would not contravene the provisions of any treaty. I believe Congress ought to pass a stringent law of this kind. I am sure that, under the provisions of such a law, we could get the Indian children out of the camps into the schools,—a consummation devoutly to be wished.

"Having determined upon a plan, by which competent teachers may be obtained, and the Indian children compelled to attend the schools provided for them, what shall be taught by the teachers to the pupils, and what methods of instruction shall be adopted?

"To teach an Indian pupil to 'read, write and cipher' is not sufficient. He must be taught many things that need not be taught to a white pupil. He must be taught to unlearn many things that he has learned; to discard prejudices that were impressed upon his mind in his infancy; to rise superior to the conditions under which he lived in the Indian camp and to which he must return; to abandon the religion of his fathers, and accept a new faith; to cast off the social conditions of his own people and receive those of another people. He is a prickly thorn that must be made to bear soft roses; he is a twig bent out of the perpendicular,

and he must be straightened so that the tree will stand erect, inclining no way ; he is a vessel of bronze that must be made bright by constant rubbing. To be a teacher of these things to a pupil of this kind requires that patience which makes the heaviest burdens light. In addition to lessons in morals, in religion, in literature, in history, the Indian pupil should be taught politics in the higher sense of that word. He should be instructed in our theory of government, and in our ideas of property and business. He should be taught that he may own lands and sell them or transmit his rights in them to his children. He should also be taught how to work. He should be taught how to cultivate the soil after he has been taught how to own it, and how to manage flocks and herds. The Agency farm is an abomination, but the Indian school farm and cattle range may be made blessings that will give to the tribes farmers and herdsmen. The Indian boy pupil should also be taught all the trades that the farmer and the herdsman patronize. He should be taught how to build houses ; how to make wagons, harness and saddles ; how to shoe horses ; how to make clothing and boots and shoes. And the girl pupil should be instructed in household ways—should be taught how to cook ; how to wash and iron clothing ; how to handle the needle ; how to nurse the sick ; how to be a good wife and a good mother.

“ And now as to methods of instruction. Each school is a law unto itself in regard to methods. This lamentable fact will become forcibly apparent to your minds, when I tell you that the Indian Agent not only selects the employés of what may be not improperly called his schools, but also determines the text-books that shall be used by what may be not inappropriately designated as his pupils. As a result of this looseness in our so-called school system, all the school text-books that are published in the United States are being used in the Indian schools. But am I correct in attributing this at least apparent liberality towards school-book publishers to the looseness of the school system ? May it not have resulted from a desire to obtain the favor of these men in politics ? to induce them to help with purse and influence the political party to which I do not belong—the political party that was lately put out of power—in theory, but which is not yet altogether out—in fact ? But, be that as it may, the list of school-books sent by the Indian Bureau to the Indian Agents, from which to choose books for their schools, is a quarter of a mile long—‘ more or less,’ as the lawyers say ; and none of the books on the list—none of the books used in the Indian schools—can be used to advantage, because Indian children cannot be properly instructed in the same way—out of the same books and by the same methods—that white children are instructed.

“ Well, what are we going to do about this ? how can this looseness of system be corrected ? how can these defective methods be replaced by better ones ?

"I have already indicated some of the screws I would use in making the system firmer. I have done this by calling your attention to the necessity of establishing tests of qualification for employment in schools that will render impossible the appointment of incompetent employes for party purposes or personal reasons, and by pointing out to you the paramount necessity of divorcing the school system from Agency control.

"Very well; but how can the defective school methods now in use be replaced by better ones? Before you cook your hare you catch it. Before you can use better methods you must procure them. And this is what must be done—better methods of Indian school instruction must be determined upon; but how? I have said that every Indian school is now a law unto itself; and it is also a fact that every Indian Agent who gives to the subject of schools any thought at all, and every superintendent and every teacher of every school, has his or her own opinion about methods of instruction, and acts upon those opinions. Out of this independence of thought and action among the persons who manage the schools no uniform instruction can come; but if the persons who have had the most experience in Indian school affairs could be called into convention occasionally so that they might discuss with one another the Indian school system and Indian school methods, I have little doubt that soon the system would be improved and better methods devised.

"Therefore I have suggested that an Annual Conference of the Superintendents of Indian schools should be held. This suggestion has been approved by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian affairs, who will ask Congress to appropriate \$1500 to defray the expenses of such a Conference to be held next year. To this Conference, which will be composed of Armstrong of the Hampton School, Pratt of Carlisle, Grabowski of the Haskell Institute, Branham of Chilocco, Lee of Salem, Chase of Genoa, and other superintendents of other important Indian schools, I shall submit the proposition that a series of uniform Indian school text-books should be prepared by the Government and printed at the Government printing office. In this way the schools may be supplied with books that will be exactly adapted to the purpose for which they are intended, and in this way the Indian child will be given a primer it can comprehend, and the more advanced pupil a reader containing matter that will both instruct and entertain, and a history of the United States that will not on one page represent the Indian as a monster, and on the next page represent him as a hero of romance.

"By these Annual Conferences, and by Indian School Teachers' Institutes, and by other means, we may wisely determine what should be taught in the schools and the best methods of instruction.

"And now comes the most important question of all. After the Indian boys of the schools have been educated under the best system and by the best methods we can devise, what are we going to do with them?

The Indian boys who return to the camps from Hampton and Carlisle do not exercise the good influence they should exercise among their people. Most of them sink into obscurity ; and I am not putting it too strongly when I say that a majority of them go back to the blanket and the lazy and corrupting habits of the Indian camp. Why do they do this? Because returning to the camp, they find no work at which they may profitably employ their hands ; and at the same time all the influences of family and race become active in the work of dragging them back to Indian life and Indian ways.

“ ‘ Returning to the reservation the graduate of the Indian school goes back to Indian ways,’ say all the objectors to the Indian school system ; and they add : ‘ because the Indian cannot accept our civilization.’ I admit the truth of the fact stated, but deny the reason given in explanation thereof. The Indian college graduate does not go back to savage life because he cannot accept civilization, but because after his graduation, when he returns to his tribe he returns to a social condition in which civilization must necessarily perish—a stagnant social condition—a condition in which nothing that he has learned can be of any use to him. The tribe, under what I may call the land-in-common reservation system, does not advance or go back ; it stands still ; it is not progressive and it is not conservative, it is motionless—a pond of impure water with no inlet or outlet, the surface of which is never disturbed by moving keel, or foot of swimming bird, or motion of fish, or active wind, or gentle breeze. It is a condition of stagnation in which civilization cannot survive, and therefore is a condition which should be changed—not radically, with suddenness, but in such manner speedily that the civilization which the graduate of the Indian industrial school takes back with him to the tribe may survive and fructify, bearing good fruit abundantly. This may be done, not by suddenly abrogating the reservation system but by compelling the Indian to cultivate ground allotted to him with the view of ultimately giving him a title to the ground he cultivates—by giving him a cattle range, and compelling him to raise his own beef—by compelling him to make his own weapons—to dress in civilized clothing made by himself—and wear boots and shoes manufactured by his own hands ; chiefly by lifting from him the hand of paternalism and laying upon him the hand of the law. Returning to a social condition of this kind, the Carlisle boy would not go back to savage life, out by reason of his education would take his place at the head of his tribe and make it to lie down in the green pastures and lead it beside the still waters of Christian civilization.

“ In this connection I must make a suggestion. Dr. Rhoads told us, in opening the Conference, that two-thirds of the Indian reservations were unfit for agricultural uses, and only fit for grazing purposes. Many thousands of acres of these lands have been leased by the Indians

to cattle men, and on them the cowboy acts as herdsman. Out of the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation the cattle men and all their cattle have been driven by a proclamation, and the policy of exclusion may soon expel all the other cattle men from all the other reservations. Hundreds of thousands of acres of grazing lands will thus be rendered useless, while the Government will expend hundreds of thousands of dollars in buying beef for the Indians who should be given herds of cattle and compelled to raise beef for themselves and beef for the market. This is an unfortunate condition of affairs. Must it be continued? Must the grazing lands of the reservations lie idle, unused either by white man or Indian? I hope not. Would it be contrary to the policy that dictates the exclusion of cattle men from the reservation to admit the cattle of white men to the reservations? Might not the Government say to cattle men: 'You may contract with Indian tribes to graze your cattle on their reservations; you may take your herds to the line of the reservations and deliver them to the Indians under a contract to graze them for a certain time, and then round them up and deliver them to you at any place named in the contract?' I think this might be legally and wisely said. If I am correct in this, the grazing lands of the reservations might thus be utilized and the Indians be thus furnished with a profitable employment—employment as herdsmen. Thus might the school boys returning from the Indian industrial schools be supplied with work to do. In this way might the Indians be taught how to raise cattle for their own use, and employment as cowboys be given to nearly all the Indians of all the Indian Territory tribes.

"There are a good many other things I may say, but I must conclude my speech which unfortunately has been dulness long drawn out; and I conclude with an assertion of my belief that President Cleveland's administration will go far in the direction of a solution of the Indian problem; will do much towards solving the Indian riddle and making safe one of the most dangerous roads along which our statesmen have been compelled to travel ever since the foundations of the Republic were laid.

"I remember that on the day Mr. Cleveland resigned the office of Governor of the State of New York, a gentleman led into the Executive chamber at Albany, a little boy—a son of his—and said: 'Gov. Cleveland, this is a blind son of mine. He is a student at New York in a school for the blind in which you used to be a teacher.' The Governor took the boy by the hand, and said: 'I am glad to see you.' The boy replied: 'I wish I could see you. I heard so much talk about you and I wanted to come here. I wish I could see you.' The Governor was so affected that tears welled up in his eyes, which looked kindly down upon the unfortunate boy who stood there in darkness that would never know a ray of light.

"Years before, in the school in which that boy was then a pupil, the

man who is now the President of the United States, had taught blind boys and girls how to see with their hands all the beauties of literature—had led them from the starless darkness of ignorance into the broad daylight of knowledge. He has now a more difficult task to perform. He is asked to lead more than a quarter of a million of human beings who are blind to all the blessings we enjoy—who are living in the darkness of ignorance—out of that darkness into the broad light of Christian civilization, and open their eyes to all the now unseen glories that surround them. I hope he will be enabled to do this, and that, before he retires from the high office he fills, the Indian, as well as the white man and the negro, will stand in the dignity of manhood, clothed with citizenship as with a garment, master of his own destiny, holding in his hand the ballot and having the right to say at the ballot-box: 'I consent,' and 'I forbid,'—to say to public officers of high and low degree: 'You may,' 'You must,' and 'You shall not.' " [Great applause.]

GEN. ARMSTRONG: "I was all through the Indian Territory several years ago, and I believe the lands there have great possibilities as to grazing and cattle raising. The Government is giving the Indians of the wilder tribes \$400,000 worth of beef yearly, and they can raise it all. Major Hunt's idea was to have the Government put a small portion of this sum into cattle to be fed upon those unused pastures, thus training the Indian to work, saving a great deal of expense to the Government, and ceasing to pauperize the Indians. Turning the Indian resources to account is an excellent idea. I have great hope from Mr. Oberly's work in that direction. In regard to the Teachers' Conference, much good could be done by drawing the teachers and superintendents together. This is the very thing to do. We have found no difficulty about text-books at Hampton, though some used elsewhere are absurd. Mr. Oberly's point was well made with reference to so using rations as to promote attendance at school. I think Mr. Oberly's views are right. In 1881 I went to Dakota, and have since visited nearly all the reservations this side of the Rocky Mountains; and one thing has struck me,—the argument to the stomach is powerful. It is to that part of the man we must appeal, and we must put it in the power of the Agent to use this sort of an appeal. Even in the present condition of things great good is being done under the authority issuing from Washington, which Mr. Oberly has spoken of. He spoke of schools where boys do washing and house work, and all that. I have no doubt they do a good deal of that kind of work, but at some of the better class of Indian schools, in the best Government schools, excellent industrial work is done. The girls become too good for the common painted braves, but not too good for earnest working men. From Hampton we have sent out 145 pupils, and we have found that one-third have disappointed our expectations. Miss Ludlow and Miss Elaine Goodale have examined

carefully what becomes of the returned Indians. There has not been one who has turned his powers against civilization; and while their surroundings have pushed some of them down to blanket life, two-thirds of them have been saved. A few have married whites, and a few have made good homes. I have a feeling that Mr. Oberly is to be the leading man in Indian education. From the force he has manifested here, I believe we can look to him. I believe there is a constituency growing all over the East who accept all these recent changes as blessings. If there is to be a new spiritual force put into the work, we shall look to Mr. Oberly for it."

COL. McMICHAEL: "I would like to speak with reference to the attitude of President Cleveland. His position is that he proposes to execute the laws. His attention was called to the state of things among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. By leases which should pay the Indians in cattle and money for the privilege of grazing in their territory, and a few under color of losses of cattle, men had got into that country and possessed themselves of the best lands of the Indians, and this country was supposed to be on the brink of an Indian war. I had occasion to observe the attitude of the Department of the Interior in regard to this. They said a treaty should be executed, that the leases were not strictly legal, so the President decided to send out Gen. Sheridan. Gen. Sheridan recommended that as the cattle men were intruders they should be turned out, and President Cleveland turned them out. So far as the general subject of Indian civilization is concerned, I think we have in some respects exaggerated its difficulties; and the advantage of having a sincere and honest man at the helm, like the gentleman who has spoken this morning, is just this, he is able to apply a critical spirit to this system, or want of system. I have the impression that matters can be simplified. We make the work too difficult. But we don't give enough credit to the Indian. What have the Indians of the civilized tribes done? They have schools, a representative government, an executive who rules over them. They have a system by which, as I understand, there is no pauper there. And what is it that they do *not* have? Why, they do not have the avarice and the selfishness which are necessary to the acquisition of private property. Do not let us underrate the Indian. Let us understand that the Indian is capable now of receiving civilization and the law. I should be in favor of the immediate expansion over those Indian tracts of the law of the territory, and of immediate citizenship, except that we must protect the Indian, not against himself, but against ourselves. For one, I thank Miss Fletcher for having pointed out how strongly we have been influenced by the spirit of trade and gain. We ought all to unite in favor of the Coke Bill. That is the result of a conference of practical men. I thank Senator Dawes; I heartily approve of what he said. We ought also to give special atten-



tion to Mr. Lyons's suggestion in regard to the practical arts of farming. I would call attention to the possibilities among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes; if their lands are so desirable for herding and grazing, why cannot we devise some scheme for a diminution in the expenses of the United States? I think that in the Senate of the United States, in the administration of the Government, and in the White House, we have friends who will coöperate with us in the purposes of this Conference."

SENATOR DAWES: "I think I should say something in the line of what the gentleman has said who has just sat down. Nothing is so important as that the people have confidence in those who administer the laws. Everybody knows that my political sympathies are very far apart from those of the present Administration. But I have known Mr. Lamar; he came into Congress the same time I did, before the war. Mr. Atkins was there then,—an old member of Congress when Mr. Lamar and I came in 1857. Although we have been opposed to each other politically, we have enjoyed an unbroken friendship through the whole time. Before it was known who was to be Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Lamar came over to our side of the Chamber and conferred with those most familiar with Indian affairs, and got their advice as to whether it would not be a good thing to make Mr. Atkins Commissioner of Indian Affairs. There were Republicans who, in the Senate, gave their hearty approval to that nomination. I want to say further, that in every one of the new measures adopted by the new Administration, they have consulted with Republicans and with those who have had the work at heart. It is due to the Administration that they should have Republican endorsement. So far, they are entitled to the confidence of those who have the future of the Indian at heart. I go back to Washington with great confidence that the executive part of this Government will coöperate with us in all healthy, hearty measures. One difficulty in this problem is the necessary transfer from one set of hands to another; and it would have been disastrous to this cause if the Administration had fallen into other hands than those who are in sympathy with us. I think it due to those gentlemen that this Conference bear testimony to the confidence with which they have inspired us."

#### TRIBUTE TO HELEN HUNT JACKSON.

The Hon. Erastus Brooks spoke feelingly of the death of Mrs. Jackson, to whom reference had been made many times during the Conference, and offered the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the members of this Conference first called and now continued in the interests of the Indian inhabitants of the United States, have heard with profound sorrow of the death of Mrs. Helen Jackson. Her long and earnest work to secure the moral and mental welfare of the Indian race, her unselfish, persistent, and grand work, by her presence,

her pen, and her intercessions for many years with the Government and people for their civil rights and personal comfort, presents an example of devotion to and faith in a great public service not excelled in the single life of any one citizen of the country. In her last days, and just when she counted as by the clock the limited hours of her earthly existence, in words of thanks to the President of the United States, in appeals to the people through the press, in letters to her many friends, as well as in her work known as the *Century of Dishonor*, recording the dealings of the Government with the Indian tribes, and in her more recent volume known as *Ramona*, illustrating Indian life, character and sufferings, she has awakened the popular conscience as never before to a sense of the wrongs inflicted upon a whole race, and that race not only native to the soil and known as its first inhabitants, but yet, as a people, neither recognized as citizens of the United States nor of the States of the Union, nor anywhere as persons in law and equity, by compacts or treaties, regarded as possessing constitutional or legal rights common to the rest of mankind.

*Resolved*, That the brilliant and useful life of this truly grand woman still appeals to the people of the United States, to Congress, and to the Executive to continue and complete the work inspired by her pen, and labored for to the end of her life.

DR. WARD: "At the suggestion of Dr. Abbott, in whose paper Mrs. Jackson's story *Ramona* was first published, and representing the paper in which her *Century of Dishonor* was published, I rise to second those resolutions. She was a woman I knew well and respected heartily. I believe her example is one to inspire, not only every woman to a grand zeal for the Indians, but every man as well. I don't need to speak at length in reference to her character; she gave her whole heart to the work. If any one ever praised her story as a work of art, without any reference to the Indian question in it, then she said: 'It is a failure.' She worked grandly for the cause, and I believe we should express our respect to her memory."

PROF. PAINTER: "I have just received a letter with mention of Mrs. Jackson from J. W. Davis, of Boston, with whom I visited Mrs. Jackson only a few days before her death. I was an entire stranger to her, and the nurse said she was so feeble she could not see me, but when she received my card I heard her exclaim: 'Oh! Is it Mr. Painter? Show him in.' This people lay heavily upon her heart. She told me she had put her life almost into that book *Ramona*. She was a little apprehensive that the artistic part of the book might possibly overshadow its philanthropic purpose, and she gave this charge to us, that the rights, the interests, and the wrongs of the people whose history she gives should receive our constant attention. The general impression that she has idealized the facts, as well as the characters, is a wrong impression. I

wish that with that book might go her report to Congress, for the story is nothing but the skeleton around which she hung the facts."

GEN. WHITTLESEY: "On this occasion it is proper to say that last Saturday I had a conversation with Commissioner Atkins, in which I asked him what measures he had taken for the Indians of Southern California? He said he was trying to inform himself fully in regard to them. Among other things he was reading the book called *Ramona*, and it was stirring up his mind in behalf of those Indians. I told him that I had read it, and that it did not exaggerate in the least the wrongs of the Indians in Southern California. I asked him if he had had his attention called to the report of Mrs. Jackson two years ago to the Secretary of the Interior? He made a memorandum of it and said he would take it with him to the Indian Territory next week. I asked him what we could do here at this Conference to strengthen his hands, and what was the purpose of the present Administration with regard to the Indians? He said: 'You can assure the friends of the Indian who gather there that, in the first place, the Administration will be very firm in the defence of the rights of the Indians to territory and property of every kind; that we shall pursue with great earnestness the policy of settling the Indians upon their own homesteads, and push the matter of Indian education with all the means Congress will give us.'"

PROF. PAINTER: "Mrs. Jackson propped herself up in bed, took the last Report she happened to have with her, addressed it to President Cleveland with the compliments of Mrs. Jackson, and said to me: 'Give him my thanks for the Crow Creek matter.'"

PRESIDENT GATES, of Rutgers College: "To me, the profound significance of Mrs. Jackson's life lies just here: we easily say she gave her life to the work, but I tell you this Indian question will never be settled till God sends deep down into the hearts of the citizens of the country just that spirit. It is going to cost sacrifice of comfort and of life to settle this question. The Sermon on the Mount is to be proclaimed statute law, and that is what Dr. Abbott meant, and I thank him for what he said. He always lifts me up to the mount of privilege when he speaks. Yet we all know that the growth of institutions and law must be slow. What holds us together when some hold the extreme views of Dr. Abbott and some want to go more slowly? We are held together because we are working together in sympathy with the views of thousands of Christian people. I was touched with Miss Fletcher's remark that she had been hungry with the Indians. It is so contemptibly easy to meet here in luxurious quarters and talk about the Indians, but there has got to be this earnest zeal, this warm giving up of the life. There has been a deal of that giving of the life to those neglected children of the frontier, and there must be more of it. The supreme significance of Mrs. Jackson's death was the consecration of her life. Sometimes light breaks out in a word. In reading my Greek Testament

where it says: "I was naked and ye clothed me," it struck me anew. Miss Fletcher has lived there; Miss Robinson has been there; General Armstrong has been there; and General Crook is living among them. God give us grace to share in the spirit that has rendered the closing days of Mrs. Jackson's life the life of a saint. If we lived back in the past three or four hundred years, she would be sainted in the calendar. Let us have that spirit; it is the spirit of the Gospel which sends people out to live a life of privation and drudgery. To give your life to this work is no light thing."

MISS FLETCHER: "So much has been said, and so well said, that lay on my heart, that it seems as though silence were better for me, but I cannot forego the pleasure of bearing my testimony to the beauty of Mrs. Jackson's life. To work among these people saps close to the fountain of power of us women. The stress and the burden of these helpless ones she helped with all her power, and yet could not, in one short lifetime, lift the burden; the heavy hand of disease was laid upon her. My friends, work sometimes wears out the body, but the spirit lives and triumphs. She has passed on to a higher phase of work, inspiring us who remain to fulfil for her that which she was not able to do. I feel that the mission Indians are the bequest of Helen Hunt Jackson, and if we love her and honor her let us be faithful, and complete what she has left us to do."

PRESIDENT FISK: "I am in hearty sympathy with all that has been said. Never did better heart throb in human bosom than that of Helen Hunt Jackson. I first met her at a meeting of Commissioners sent out to adjust the trouble with the Ute Indians in the heart of Colorado. Some one came in and said: 'There is one of the brightest women in the world out there, and she wants to see you.' I told the messenger to tell her to wait. When I went out I met Helen Hunt; it was just after her marriage with Mr. Jackson. She said, 'I have come to this distant place that I might speak in behalf of the Utes.' She was admitted to the Conference, and such a magnificent impression as she made I can never forget. We cannot fathom that Providence that takes such an one from us in the strength of her powers and influence."

"Her weapon still was bright,  
Her shield was lifted high;  
To smite the wrong, protect the right,  
What happier hour to die?

"Our hearts lie buried in the dust,  
With her, so true and tender;  
Let every murmuring heart be still,  
As, bowing to God's sovereign will,  
Our best-loved we surrender."

The resolutions were then passed, the entire Conference rising.

### THE PLATFORM ADOPTED.

It was then moved and seconded that the platform, as presented by the Business Committee, be accepted and adopted by the Conference.

PRESIDENT FISK said : "I drifted into a colored church one Sunday morning ; a colored man was preaching, and there seemed to have been some sort of a difficulty. He said : 'There is always two sides to a question ; we have the buttonites and the anti-buttonites ; the silverites and the anti-silverites. And so it was in the days of Noah and the flood ; they had the diluvians, who believed in the flood, and the ante-diluvians, who didn't believe in the flood.' I think we have reached that point when we are all diluvians. [Laughter.] We believe in a flood that shall wash away the wrongs of the Indians."

The platform was then adopted by a unanimous vote.

### A SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

MR. OBERLY : "Mr. President, I would like to make a suggestion ; the resolutions having met the unanimous approval of this Conference, it strikes me that they will do good only by getting them before the public where they will attract attention. Now, how can that be done? I suggest, in order to do it in an effective way, and bring these resolutions to the attention of the President, and by that method to the attention of the people, that a delegation of this Conference, of five gentlemen and four ladies, be appointed, and instructed to prepare an address, in which these resolutions be presented personally to President Cleveland. In this way the country will have its attention attracted to them."

DR. WARD : "I heartily approve of Mr. Oberly's suggestion, and I would make a motion that a Committee of nine be appointed, of which the President of this meeting shall be Chairman ; that four other gentlemen and four ladies be appointed to attend to the matter, and I would suggest that the Committee be appointed by the Chairman."

The motion was passed. Subsequently General Fisk appointed the following Committee :

Hon. Erastus Brooks ; Hon. Albert K. Smiley ; Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D. ; Mrs. A. S. Quinton ; Miss Alice C. Fletcher ; Mrs. J. C. Kinney.

MR. BROOKS : "I have been connected with the press a great many years, and I think, if a copy of the resolutions be sent to the Associated Press for the press of the country, with a request that they be published, that that request would be responded to at once ; and I make a motion to that effect." Passed.

The Conference then took a recess until evening. During the afternoon the guests were given an excursion to Lake Minnewaska.

## THE CLOSING SESSION.

At the beginning of the closing session, Mrs. F. E. H. Haynes, Secretary of the Women's Executive Committee of Home Missions, of New York, gave an exceedingly pleasing and interesting account of a recent visit to Alaska, during which she visited the mission-school among the Indians.

The Rev. Dr. Kendall, at the request of Mrs. Haynes, spoke further of the work in Alaska, giving many interesting and encouraging facts.

At the request of the President, Miss Fletcher told an interesting story of the building of a cottage on the Omaha reservation, by the ladies of the Connecticut Indian Association. The cottage is for a young married couple, Philip and Minnie Stabler, who were educated at Hampton. It was built in consequence of a suggestion made by Miss Fletcher at the Mohonk Conference of last year, the object being to equip the couple with a civilized home, in order that the savage tribal surroundings, which they would otherwise have to meet, might not drag them back into savagery. It is an experiment which promises the best results.

### THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA INDIANS.

PROFESSOR PAINTER: "Mr. President—I was requested by the Indian Rights Association, whose agent I have been some time at Washington, to take a trip out through the West and look up some matters, and among other places I went to Southern California to look into the condition of the Mission Indians. Passing through the Indian Territory, I visited a number of tribes, and from there I went on through New Mexico, Arizona, Southern California, then went among the Piutes on the reservation and scattered down the railroad, then into Idaho, and among the Bannocks and Shoshones, then to the Modocs to see what has been done there under the lead of our Quaker friends. Those people have divided up that little reservation, each with his little farm and his little crops. Most of them are Christian men; and I found that something can be done for the Indians, even upon a reservation. But I went down especially to the Mission Indians in California. These Indians, known as the Mission Indians, are living, some of them, upon old Mexican grants. The Mission Fathers, when they came to California, built a number of missions at different points, gathering the Indians about these for an education, and to teach them industries. So they became self-supporting, and Christianized, according to the ideas of the Catholic Church. The country was then all unoccupied, and nobody cared how much land was claimed, so that large sections of the country were attached to the Mission. In 1824, the Mexican Government secularized these Missions, leaving only a small part of the land that had been claimed for the Mission in connection with the Mission build-

ings; the rest, in every case, was accepted by individuals, who thus possessed these granted lands occupied by Indians. These lands never were legally granted; they were to be the permanent possession of these Indians. When we came into possession of the country, the titles of those old grants were doubtful; they were in dispute. The lines were run with great vagueness. Government sent a Commission, in 1856, who invited the claimants to those grants to appear and make good their titles or they would lapse. The Indians were not invited. Those of you who have read *Ramona* will recall one instance. Certain Indians were in a most beautiful valley, and supposed their title to be beyond dispute. There had been an especial arrangement made with them. The first intimation they had was the appearance of the sheriff with an order of ejectment, not only to take possession of the lands, but to pay the costs out of the money from their lands. This is the condition of a large number of these Indians' titles to these lands—they lapsed because they did not appear before the Commission to make good their title. There was still considerable land, but it passed out of Indian control upon purchase by white men, they pushing the Indians off the lands. The treaty holds these lands to be the property of the Indians. A gentleman of San Bernardino, who had purchased one of these grants, brought a suit of ejectment to remove the Indians from the grant. The United States took up the case to defend the Indians' title. We were looking forward to the issue of that suit with much interest, involving the title of about fifteen hundred Indians, and money to the amount of about \$200,000. We were told that the Indians were in possession, and that if the suit was not pressed it was the loss of the man who had purchased the grant, and therefore it made no difference to the Indians; but surely this was not the case, for they were being pushed from those old grants at many other points. I wanted to see the lawyers who had charge of the case, to know why the suit was not brought to issue. I found that the senior partner had gone out, and a new firm had been formed, and the case was decided against the Indians on default. The friends of the Indians down there do not doubt that the lawyers sold out the case. I wish to read a petition which the Indians have drawn up and sent to Washington, which tells the story in their own way. It was written in Spanish, and I give you the translation. [The petition was read.]

"Now that is just the position of those Indians. Some of them are on Executive reservations, the title to which is uncertain, and they are being pushed aside. Many of them are able to read and write. I had conferences with them, and it was touching, even to tears, to hear the stories they told of being crowded and driven from their lands, or told they must not keep stock, for the people don't want them to eat the grass up. I see no deliverance from these things, unless the Government will

take up the matter, and do what I asked the Commissioner to do,—that he would send some reliable man from the East to defend the title of the Indians to these lands. I said: 'These Indians have rights, or they have none. If they have rights, it is time the land was given them. If they have no rights, I don't see why we send agents there, for the Indians are as competent to support themselves as white men.' There are several thousands of these Indians in Southern California, and I was told there were 12,000 in the one county of San Antonio. These are the people for whom Mrs. Jackson labored, and for whom she gave, in a certain sense, her life. She has left behind her an earnest prayer that the cause of these Indians shall be taken up. I wish something could be done by this Conference to bring the attention of the government to this people. It is a shame, that in this Christian country, and with our boasted institutions, this people should be treated worse than under the old Mexican government. The schools don't amount to much. I understood that the school at Anaheim, which I believe is under the care of the Presbyterian Church, had only four or five girls in it; it had good teachers but no pupils. The influence of the Catholic priest is felt there. I found in some of the day-schools of the reservations that they had good teachers but no pupils; in other places they had overflowing schools but no teachers. Very little is being done for their instruction. Many of them are being driven out. This is the case also with the Piutes, a large number of whom are scattered up and down the railroad, who will not go on the reservation. There are Indians in certain places who will never go upon any reservation. If the attempt was made to put them on the reservation they would take to the mountains. They are supporting themselves and don't want any help. But their children are growing up in ignorance. It would be wrong to take these people who are supporting themselves and put them on a reservation; but they will perpetuate themselves, and I think something should be done."

QUESTION: Would they permit their children to go to school?

PROF. PAINTER: "I think they would. It is a question what should be done; but something must be done, by church or State."

MR. OBERLY: "Did you communicate these facts to the Indian Bureau?"

MR. PAINTER: "Yes."

MISS COOK: "We have done it for four or five years, right straight along."

PROF. PAINTER: "A man interviews these Indians and tells them they must take their stock off; that he is going to put cattle for three dairies on that reservation. I talked with an Indian who said he was going to stick."



MR. OBERLY: "Wouldn't it be well for this Conference to pass a resolution to this effect that this Conference respectfully and earnestly calls the attention of the Administration to the condition of the Mission Indians, and petitions that immediate and effective steps be taken to protect them in their rights to the land they may have? That the lands they now occupy and possess they may have? If a resolution to that effect were adopted by this Conference it would be presented to the President with the other resolutions by the delegation you shall appoint. I am sure, if these ladies, who will make part of the delegation to the President, were to present to him the story of the misery of these Indians and call to his attention the work that has been done in their behalf by the woman whose eulogy has been spoken here to-day, that he would be moved to take some steps with regard to them. I move that some such resolution be prepared."

The Rev. Dr. Kendall offered the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:

*Resolved*, That this Conference respectfully calls the attention of the Administration to the condition of the Mission Indians of California, and petitions that immediate and effective steps be taken to protect them in whatever rights they may have to the lands they now occupy.

#### LETTER FROM SENATOR MORGAN OF ALABAMA.

The Secretary read the following letter from Senator Morgan of Alabama:

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 24th, 1885.

MR. ALBERT K. SMILEY:

MY DEAR SIR: I am afraid to promise myself the pleasure of accepting your kind offer of hospitality on the interesting occasion you mention in your note of 17th inst. It has been near a year since I was at home, and I expect to spend October in Alabama.

It would be very gratifying to me to attend the Annual Indian Conference. Good results will be almost a necessity of the meeting in this Autumn. The country was never so prepared for a definite movement for the benefit of the Indians, and our knowledge of their wants was never so complete. Common sense views of Indian affairs, and a keener appreciation of our duties and obligations than we have formerly shown will now place them on a footing "before the law" that will soon secure their quiet and safe assimilation into the body of our citizenship.

There is now no hostile Indian Tribe within the United States, and it is time we had applied to them the laws of peace, rather than the laws of war. To apply to them any laws, beside their tribal laws, we must provide for them, at least a qualified citizenship. The duty and benefit of

obedience to our laws should be in some sense reciprocal. The Indians are jealous of their rights and have an acute sense of injustice. Right or wrong, this jealousy has often led them to hostilities, which with them always mean destruction to all enemies.

If they participate in the new governments we are compelled to provide for them, they will be less jealous of our rule, more obedient to law, and better prepared for our civilization than they are under existing conditions.

"The white man's road" crosses the Indian's trail at right angles, and he is not, as yet, prepared for the new journey. If our road leads more in the direction he has been going, he will follow it with less reluctance.

The broad highway of our civilization, which is the result of our citizenship and its regulating forces and constraints, is too wide to be, at present, attractive to the Indian; as Broadway, N. Y., is not an enjoyable place to a "cowboy."

We want for each tribe a simple plan of government, with few enactments, suited to the stage of progress of the tribe; *in the enactment and enforcement of which they shall have a voice through a representative.*

The Indian Agent, or Inspector; an Army officer; and a chief, or chosen delegate, would make a suitable legislative and executive body for a tribe, such as the Cheyennes. A government like that provided for the District of Columbia, with legislative powers confined to a few subjects, would do to begin with. I am only making very crude suggestions, from which you can gather the drift of my thoughts. We find in the Five Civilized Tribes, **THE HIGHEST PROOF OF ABILITY** to govern themselves in strict accordance with our splendid systems of local and federal powers. They feel so strong in their power to govern, that they are decidedly averse to the "foreign rule" of the United States.

As to these nations (for they are no longer tribes, in the Indian sense), our duty is pressing, to extend over them the political supremacy of the United States. This is needed for their good, and our peace. In what manner, or form, this should be done, is a delicate question, *but it should be done at once.* They have reached the stage of civilization which entitles them to citizenship, and presses upon us the duty of imposing on them the duties of citizenship.

The Constitution of the United States, which pervades our whole country, should be rendered personally applicable to these Indians. The appellate jurisdiction of the U. S. Supreme Court (at least in reference to all constitutional questions), should be made available to correct the judgments of their highest Courts of Appeals.

A Circuit and District Court should be established *in the Indian Territory*, with proper arrangement of jurisdiction, and Indians, selected for intelligence and probity, should serve on juries there. But I am only on the margin of the subject, and am merely illustrating my idea, that

we must now *begin to govern the Indians in the name and with the power of the United States*: providing a form of government adapted to each tribe, if need be, and giving to them some sort of representation, in making and enforcing the laws. The arm of the law will rule them, when the sword will only slay them, and we ought not to withhold it. One more suggestion. I would establish military schools amongst the wilder tribes; enlisting males from, say 12 to 20 years of age, as cadets, to be educated and trained in the "school of the soldier," for a period of six years, with pay, clothing and rations, and with the right to re-enlist, on better pay, at the end of the term, etc., etc.

English rudiments, geography, and arithmetic would constitute the chief features of the course of instruction, united with technical instruction in the common arts. An Indian is, by nature, a devotee of military studies and arts. I would use that inclination so fostering to his pride, as a means of teaching him discipline, a fondness for civil pursuits, the English language, etc., etc., etc. He would retain the affection of his people while travelling the "white man's road."

In your beautiful retreat at Lake Mohonk, you may not find it irksome to look over these meagre and ill-arranged thoughts. They are the outline of what I conceive to be our true Indian policy, and I present them in the confidence that you are willing to hear anything (that is advanced in a proper spirit) intended to benefit those people.

With sincere respect,

JNO. T. MORGAN.

After resolutions and remarks of hearty thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Smiley for their unbounded hospitality, the Conference adjourned.

## ROLL OF MEMBERS.

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GEN. S. C. ARMSTRONG, Principal Hampton Normal School, Hampton, Va.

REV. DR. LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor *Christian Union*, New York, AND WIFE.

HON. ERASTUS BROOKS, State Board of Health of New York, West New Brighton, S. I.

MR. R. D. W. BRYAN AND WIFE, Superintendent Indian Schools, Albuquerque, N. M.

MISS BURR, *The Hartford Times*, Hartford, Conn.

MISS M. S. COOK, Indian Bureau, Washington, D. C.

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PRES. EDWARD H. MAGILL, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

HON. JOHN H. OBERLY, U. S. Superintendent Indian Schools, Washington, D. C. : 3

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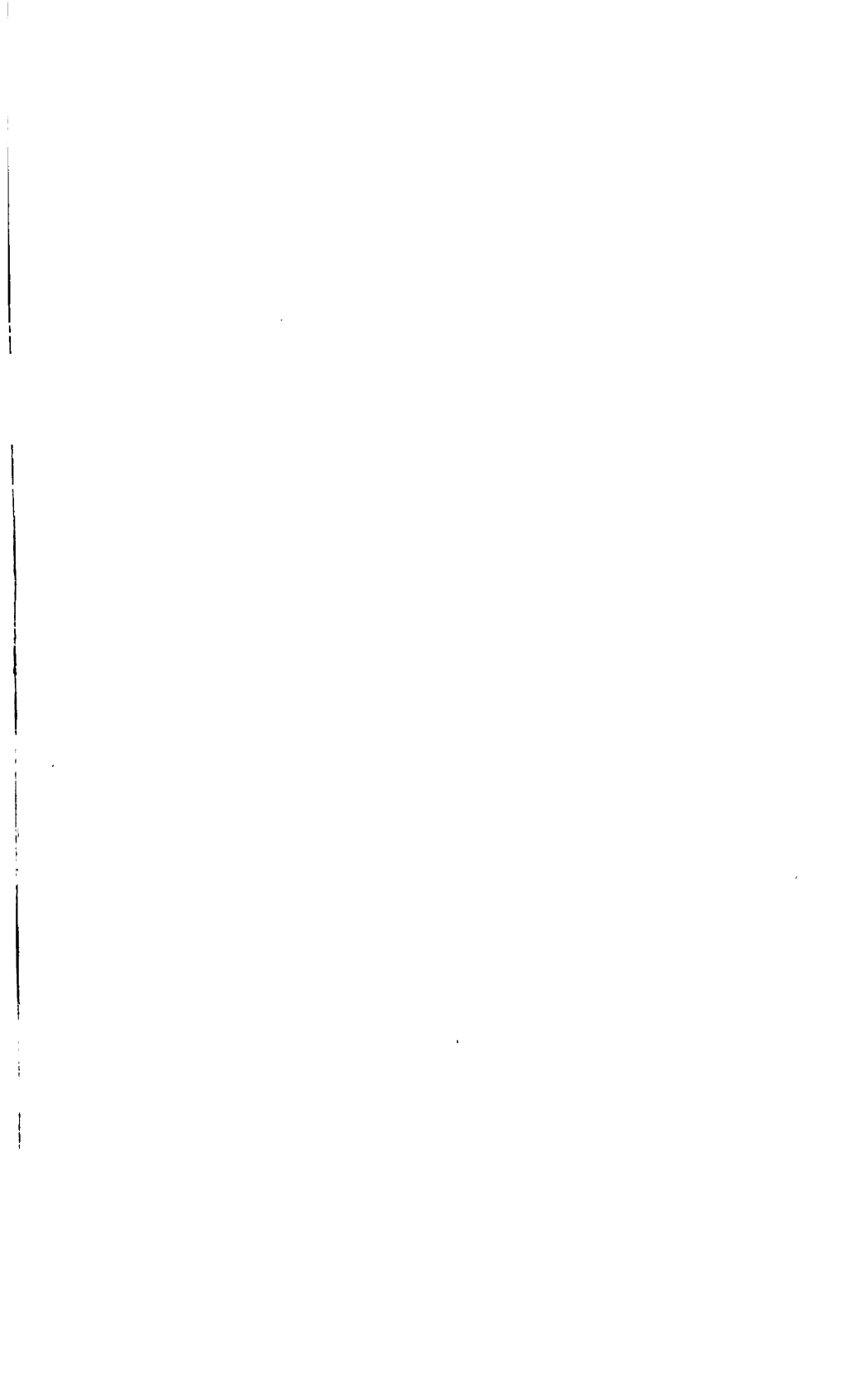
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